port from intelligence tests of doubtful suitability, have called in 114
question the 'educability' of some Bantu groups.[1] 121

I shall not examine these theories but rather leave to descriptions of Umbundu culture given in the main part of the study, the task of showing that the mental capacity of the Ovimbundu is sufficient to enable them to assimilate the education placed at their disposal. Educators who really believe otherwise would hardly waste their time in attempting to educate a people who, after all, may be incapable of education.

> If we do not believe in the logic of the savage and in the identity of his processes of thought with our own, then we should be proved illogical ourselves in attempting to develop along logical lines peoples of an alien mentality, and in attempting to transmit our civilization to peoples mentally incapable of assimilating it.[2]

The capacity of the Ovimbundu and their 'educability' are assumed.

The Approach. All the various types of approach to African 121
education have been classed under one of the two aims: Assimila- 177
tion, which has represented Latin colonial policy; and Adaptation, which has been more representative of the British and Belgian point of view. *Assimilation* would make African Frenchmen, African Portuguese, &c., of the natives. *Adaptation* would take what is best in both the African and the European cultures in order to produce a better African civilization'.[3]

Within the aim of *assimilation* there may be distinguished at least two policies. One ignores indigenous culture, presents the European culture quite without reference to it, and treats the African as though he had no cultural background—as though he were a *tabula rasa.* The other may study the indigenous culture, but only in order to be able to uproot it the more thoroughly and efficiently.

Within the aim of *adaptation* at least three distinct policies may

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[1] See discussion in Malherbe (ed.), *Educational Adaptations*, Chap. XVIII (*N.E.F. Co[illegible]rence Report*, Cape Town, 1937); also P. A. W. Cook, *The Education of a South African Tribe* (Cape Town, 1934).

[2] Driberg, op. cit., p. 4.

[3] There is an interesting discussion of these two policies by H. Dubois, 'Assimilation ou Adaptation?' in *Africa*, 1929, pp. 1 ff. See also the discussion in the Preface of *Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa*, by I. Schapera (London, 1934). There are other policies for dealing with the Africans such as repression, exploitation, &c., but since they cannot be classed as educational theories I have not included them in this analysis.

121 177 be recognized. *First*, there is a sympathetic but entirely unsystematic use of the culture in question which collects folk-lore, customs, or other single items to use them as illustrations, as lesson or sermon material, &c., but without reference to their context in the fabric or pattern of the culture. *Second*, there is an attempt to rebuild those functions or institutions which *a priori* are judged essential and to leave untouched those judged unessential. Still, whatever is done, is done without reference to the pattern of the culture in question and the criteria are predetermined. *The third method* is that advocated by the present study. It begins with a systematic study of the culture in question, especially its characteristic patterns of behaviour, significant attitudes, beliefs and customs; and the effect of its contact with other cultures; in order

To determine and describe the content;

To analyse and evaluate this content with reference to its bearing upon present local needs; and

To make suggestions for tentative procedures which shall build upon indigenous patterns of behaviour, make adjustment to approved attitudes from the outside as easy as possible, and work toward a continuous and self-functioning process of self-adjustment.

The view-point assumed is a composite of practical anthropology, progressive education, and the newer approach to Christian missions. The criteria have been evolved in part through a study of the local situation and its needs.

127 *Sources.* More documentary material has been sifted than the references indicate. The historical account which has finally been incorporated as Chapter XII was written before the main part of this study and served as an important part of its background.

128 124 The chief sources, however, are original materials descriptive of certain phases of Umbundu life and culture—materials gathered on the field over a period of years, especially between 1933 and 1938. Much of it consists of traditional 'literature' (folk-tales, proverbs, riddles and songs). More of it, however, consists of descriptions of customs, beliefs, institutions and other culture traits secured from personal observation, from descriptions by natives, from schedules collected and written up by trained natives, and Umbundu autobiographical data. Much of this is given in direct translation, certain parts in summary or by reference, while the rest has served as background.

134 Much of the soil has been greatly impoverished both by use and by the action of the weather. The most productive soil areas consist of alluvial deposits, but the precipitate nature of much of the region precludes the formation of such deposits. The bulk of the soil is rather poor, but still it is of better quality, on the whole, than in adjoining regions to the north, east, and south.[1]

133 In common with several of the African plateaux the Benguela Highland rises very precipitately from the sea. This is one of the most striking features of African geography. The steepness of the [49] ascent forces the Benguela Railway to use a cog-line for a short distance. The village of Ngendo, described in the section dealing with the social structure, has an elevation of about 1,650 metres (5,400 feet) but is situated at only about 60 miles from the ocean.[2] That part of the intermediate zone which adjoins the Highland on the west consists of river valleys between mountain ridges and is well watered, but between that and the sea the country is very arid. This arid region is in reality a northern extension of the Kalahari, Omaheke, and Namieb deserts. Much of this arid stretch is exceedingly rough mountainous country. All along the African coast there is a coastal plain, but in the region under consideration it is very narrow. Plain and mountain are equally arid and this desert country generally has an elevation of less than 1,000 metres (about 3,280 feet). This intermediate zone is well known to the Ovimbundu and played an important role in the history of their commercial developments since they were obliged to cross it to reach the European stations on the coast.

101 Other adjoining regions have also been of importance to the Ovimbundu. It was from the region to the north between the Highland and the Kuanza River that some of the principal ruling families came. Across this same region the Ovimbundu had their [177] first European contacts—with the Portuguese establishments on the Kuanza River. In the regions to the south live cattle-raising people whence the Ovimbundu got cattle, whether by raiding or 133 by trading. East of the Kuanza River valley the elevation drops 167 gradually toward the basins of the Congo and the Zambezi. When the slave- and rubber-trades led the Ovimbundu into this region

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[1] I.e. of all adjoining regions only on the north-west are there valleys of superior soil. No complete survey of the soils of Angola has been made. Most books overrate the qualities of the soils of the colony.

[2] *See infra*, Chap. II.

A M 162 institutions or divisions have had little consideration in drawing
administrative boundaries.

A Systems of communications have been developed during th
496 last forty years. The Benguela Railway, built by Sir Robert
Williams and the Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., was completed
in 1931 from Lobito to Elisabethville in the Katanga region,
where direct connexion is made with the South, Central, and
East African systems of rail and water transport. This railway
M serves as the most direct outlet for the mines of the Congo and
496 Northern Rhodesia. The great majority of native employees of
● 177 the railway are Ovimbundu and it has also brought this people
A their first contact with the mines and with industrialized South
505 Africa. Regular steamship connexion between Lobito and Europe
includes Portuguese, Belgian, German, and British lines with
occasional calls from American, Japanese, and Scandinavian
M A ships.[1] Recent years have seen considerable extensions of tele-
206 graphic and radio service throughout the colony. Motor roads
487 have been built extensively, especially on the plateau and along
494 the watersheds. In addition there are many wagon-tracks for
ox-wagons which were introduced by the voortrekkers almost
seventy years ago. In many cases the routes followed are those first
used by native caravans.

M 797 There are eleven missionary societies at work among the Ovimbundu: five Protestant and six Roman Catholic.[2] There is only one fully organized Umbundu Church. It includes the work of three Protestant societies. It is the work of this Church and of the Missions of the A.B.C.F.M.[3] and of the United Church of Canada with which the evaluations of this study are concerned. The Mission of the A.B.C.F.M. was founded in 1880, as the first Christian work undertaken among the Ovimbundu.[4]

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[1] This was the situation in 1939. During the period of the war the Portuguese services were maintained, although with less regularity than before. The U.S. Maritime Commission maintained a cargo service. There were occasional calls by cargo vessels of various nationalities. The Belgian line is reopening its service (1946) and the Portuguese lines have acquired additional vessels.

[2] Pères du Saint-Esprit began work among the Ovimbundu in 1890; the Padres Seculares have been working in the towns; the Benedictines and several orders of nuns also have stations.

[3] American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

[4] The two missions mentioned conduct their work in most respects as a single mission. The other Protestant societies do not have very extensive work among the Ovimbundu.

631[life and each could be taken as a unit complete in itself. Individual
studies and comparisons of one with another would provide much
valuable material. Familiarity with individuals and groups belong-
184] ing to all the major tribal groups, and study of their folk-lore and customs has led me to conclude that as in language, so in social structure and in culture, the differences are of small account. In offering illustrative material, I shall give its tribal source.

The King

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177 To describe the royal office and functions it would be necessary to use the past tense. That reason, along with others, leads me to exclude this subject from the present study. Effective European occupation of the country and government by direct rule[1] have atrophied the royal office among the Ovimbundu until to-day kings survive as hardly more than living museum pieces. This being the case, I shall only enumerate the royal functions, very briefly characterize them, and pass on to describe other and living parts of the Umbundu social organism.

643 The principal functions of the royal office were:

776 1. *Religious*. The spirits of the king's ancestors were the
principal national deities. The king was not only high priest but
also the visible vice-regent and incarnation of the spirits. The
[778] sacrifices at the royal shrine, *kakokoto* (literally, at the skulls), the
place of the royal skulls, were for the nation in order:

643
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789 (*a*) *To control the elements*, i.e. to ensure a sufficient supply of rain and avoid the dangers caused by hail, by lightning, &c. Also to control fire by providing a new fire properly (ceremonially) kindled from which everyone took his fire. A king's reign was spoken of as 'during the Water of Lord So-and-so' (*Kovava a Ñalã Ngandi*), or 'during the Fire of Lord So-and-so' (*Kondalu ya Ñalã Ngandi*).

241
644 (*b*) *To ensure fertility*, toward which desideratum the royal
marriage had great influence. The queen's special province was
[782] agriculture and her kitchen was sanctified by human sacrifice to
guarantee the national food supply. Ceremonially treated seed
was distributed to be mixed with the seed of each granary.

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[1] 'Direct rule' is applied in most parts of Africa where European settlement is the predominant consideration and also where centralized government is the ideal. 'Indirect rule' is best illustrated in the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Uganda, and Tanganyika Territory.

631 ones. This situation was reported by Magyar, when he wrote,
635 'Quibanda (should be Civanda) to the east has 500 villages. The
Chief has great power. He sends tribute every year to the king of
Bailundu but is himself fully independent.'[1] Magyar described
about 15 *atumbu* or '*ovikandscho*',[2] as he called them, of Bailundu.
(161) He estimated the population of Bailundu at 450,000, and for all
the kingdoms of the Ovimbundu 1,200,000,[3] figures which are
(175) probably not very different from present-day facts. The report
and description of the 'Capitania de Benguella' in 1799 said that
the king of Bailundu dominated 2,056 villages; the king of Viye,
886; and the king of Ngalangi, 900; and listed their 'feudos'
respectively as 82, 54, and 78.[4] My list of the Ngalangi *atumbu*
shows 112. In Bailundu about 20 *atumbu* were ruled by members
of the royal family, including heirs apparent or expectant, and the
queen (*Inakulu*), who also had her own establishment.[5] About
20 were ruled by other court officials.

621 Most of these *atumbu* are still recognized as such or as *olombala*.[6]
622 Their decay has not been as great as that of the *ombala*[6] of their
● 177 liege lord, for they still fulfil certain functions in native life. They
have also been given new functions by the administrative authorities.
[651] The minor chiefs as well as village headmen are all required to
assist in assessing and collecting the native tax, and also in recruiting
labour for government works and for contracts. In some areas
they receive in return the remission of their own taxes. In some
areas they are required to wear uniforms. On the dancing floors
[692] of most of these minor *olombala* courts are still held, justice
determined, and (to a limited extent) fines 'eaten'. Such judgements
are not officially recognized or allowed by the European
authorities. The African, however, often finds that European
courts do not meet his needs or accord with his concepts of
justice.

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[1] Magyar, op. cit., p. 389.

[2] Umbundu *ovikanjo* (plural), 'branches', a term which through commercial or European influence is applied to the *atumbu*.

[3] For these figures and for descriptions of the several kingdoms, see Magyar, op. cit., chap. ix.

[4] *Annaes Mar. e Col.*, 4a Ser., pp. 155 ff.

[5] Magyar, op. cit., p. 390.

[6] *Olombala*, plural of *ombala*, a capital village or chief's residence.

517
521 some pulling on their stubby little pipes and watching the men.
562 As the men smoke, they may pass the pipe from mouth to mouth, but not so the women.

577
276 Tobacco (*akaya*) is a great vehicle for sociability whether in the pipe or in the form of snuff. 'Snuffing is held to clear the head, to clarify the thought, to enlighten the eyes, to sharpen the hearing, and comfort the heart.'[1] 'Taking a pinch of snuff, between the forefinger and the thumb, is unknown . . . and would be considered . . . very unsatisfactory. . . . They pour about a teaspoonful into the palm of the hand, and burying their . . . nostrils in the peppery mixture snort it up loudly, aided by a rotary motion of the half-closed hand.'[2]

273 Beer (*ocimbombo*) is of even greater importance. Its place has long been threatened by such drinks as the stronger beer made from emmer wheat (*elundi*), mead (*ingundu* and *ocasa*), and ● [177] imported rum. Within the past thirty or forty years the Ovimbundu have themselves learned to distil rum (*okacipembe*) from sweet potatoes, sugar-cane, pumpkins, &c., and although the industry is illegal, it has grown to great proportions and nothing now seems able to stop it. It is the widespread use of this strong drink, with its concomitant evils, which is to-day the greatest enemy of the social life.

535 The dance is probably the most important element in the social life of the village. The Ovimbundu have many different dances and they dance on every occasion and on the slightest provocation. I have collected thirty songs to accompany dances. About three-fourths of them are sometimes used at funerals or at other ceremonial occasions, some of them are for more frivolous purposes, and most of those which are used for ceremonies are used at other times also. It is not for nothing that an Umbundu equivalent of (538) the proverb 'Strike while the iron is hot', runs as follows:

Nda wa mõlã oñoma, piluka:
When you see a drum, dance:
Oñoma ka yi muĩwã luvali.
A drum may not be seen twice.

During one of my visits to Ngendo there was an important funeral with much dancing at Ndumba, just across the valley. At

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[1] Tucker, *Drums in the Darkness* (Toronto and New York; Doran, 1927), p. 38.
[2] Monteiro, *Angola and the River Congo*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1875), vol. ii, p. 271.

their own wards, 'my ward' (*ocitawila cange*). The other villagers 622
will speak only of 'our village' (*imbo lietu*). 554

There are, in general, two quite different and distinct types of 361
Umbundu village according to the terrain on which they are built. The villages of the plains have room to spread out and tend toward a circular shape, with the dancing floor and men's club house near the centre. The wards may appear as quarters of a single whole or they may be added on in haphazard fashion. The villages of the mountains must conform to the possibilities of the terrain. Formerly, many villages were built on mountains for defence, and capital villages of this type may still be seen with the houses built on ledges and rocks almost one on top of the other. In this type of village, there is often not sufficient or sufficiently good soil for even small garden plots within the palisades. Occasionally one of these mountain villages may be found which has not even room within it for the dancing floor, which will in this case be found outside the palisade. If the site is not too severely confined, the wards of the mountain village tend either to string themselves out horizontally along the mountain-side, or to find successive ledges. The village of Ngendo is of an intermediate type, built as it is, on a slope. Sikilile's village was first built as near the stream as possible. The wards later added themselves on, each a little higher than the one before. The school village, which was built last, got the highest and most hygienic site.

Moving a Village

Villages may be moved for any one of several reasons. When 361
fields are worn out and others are not available[1] near by, a village 166
may be moved to a site more conveniently located. More often, [768]
however, the reason assigned is that there has been much illness or death, that the old site is polluted, that its 'air is bad', which to the Ovimbundu means that some action displeasing to the spirits has been committed which has brought on these misfortunes. This will generally have been determined by divination, as will [787]
also the spirits' consent to the proposed new site. A site which has long been occupied is of course fertile soil. Since old sites are generally cultivated to good advantage this fact should not be overlooked as a possible additional reason for moving.

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[1] Nowadays European settlement often pre-empts such lands. [177]

754 attacks also upon the persons or possessions of enemies. This type
of sorcery in a very common form involves the enslavement of the
spirit of another person, often a child of one's own family or kin.[1]
The person whose spirit is used may be killed either by violent or
by magical means. Sorcery of this type is much feared, but if
wealth supposedly gained by this means is used for the benefit of
the kin, the sorcerer may be tolerated or even protected in the
exercise of his black art. Beneficiaries do not often have qualms
concerning the source of the benefits received. One who, by
reason of his family connexions or his own power, has secured a
strong position may escape interference. Jealousy or grudges,
however, often bring out accusations from within the circle of kin.
754 Accusations may also be made by outsiders. With the decline in
682 influence which the tribal courts have suffered, and their inability
to inflict capital punishment, sorcery is less frequently punished
than formerly. The consequent reductions in the number of
innocent victims is a gain. This same cause has operated, how-
[177] ever, to increase dealings in, and fear of, sorcery. Most of the
cases brought to European courts, and even to the Church, under
the name of 'poisoning' are in reality accusations of sorcery.

178 In the foregoing brief note it has not been possible adequately
754 to treat the subject, but it will be seen that sorcery has long been a
divisive influence in Umbundu life. It sometimes seriously affects
the cohesion of the household and the larger kinship groups.
Economic, political, and other forces now seem to be acting to
increase the incidence of sorcery, the influence of which is probably
a considerable factor in the present rapid disintegration of the
Umbundu social structure.

The Hierarchy of Age

561 Passing references have been made to associations of coevals.
The Ovimbundu recognize very definitely the hierarchy of age
and consider orderly society quite impossible without it. One of
the keenest criticisms of the European and his ways is contained in
the aphorism:

> *Kundele ka ku li ukulu.*
> [538] In 'civilization' there is no senior.

To Umbundu wisdom this is an impossible state of affairs;

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[1] The Umbundu term is *oku andeka*; *vide* ref. *infra*, p. 107, n. 1.

000 on which the social cohesion of African peoples rests'.[1] In the article here quoted, and more recently at the New Education Fellowship Conference, she summarizes her conclusions regarding 'Positive Values in the African Social Organization', with special reference to the Sotho-Tswana and Zulu-Xhosa groups of the South African Bantu.[2]

Nor have American educational authorities failed to recognize the crucial importance to educational and missionary efforts of a primitive people's social structure. Were it necessary, numerous quotations might be given. Two of the four 'Essentials of Primitive Society' listed by Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, have to do with the social structure:

II. Power of integration with the environment, material and human:

III. A proper regard for the Home and the household.[3]

Even more explicit are the counsels to be found in *The Educational Yearbook* for 1931 and 1933:

> . . . we often find that the organization of the family and the relationships between its members are as good as, and in some cases superior to, those which are found among western peoples. . . .
>
> When it comes to other matters of social relationships, such as the communal system and the practice of sharing . . . it is little less than disastrous that the western educator, brought up in a system of individualism, seems to wish to make it necessary for the indigenous peoples to go back to a social organization from which his own world is attempting to move.[4]
>
> Social forms have got to change. But whatever changes may take place, . . . the vital thing is that the sense of mutual obligation and responsibility which is found in existing relations should be conserved and express itself in the new conditions.[5]

797 177 The village is the key to an educational or mission approach to the Ovimbundu. This fact has long been recognized by the missions. The Deputation of the American Board of Com-

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[1] M. Stauffer, ed., *Thinking with Africa* (New York, 1927), p. 86 (article by Mrs. Hoernlé), also quoted by C. T. Loram in *The Educational Yearbook, 1933* (Dr. Kandel, ed.), p. 280.

[2] See E. G. Malherbe, ed., *Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society* (N.E.F. Conference Report, Cape Town, 1937), pp. 405-7.

[3] T. J. Jones, *Essentials of Civilization* (New York, 1929), pp. 7 ff.

[4] C. T. Loram in *The Educational Yearbook, 1931*, I. Kandel, ed. (New York, 1931), pp. 10, 12.

[5] J. W. C. Dougall in op. cit., 1933, p. 159.

missioners for Foreign Missions which visited the Umbundu area in 1911 found some difficult problems from the great numbers of converts who had flocked to live on the mission stations. That, however, was a situation from which the missionaries had already been trying to recede for some time since 1897[1] when outstations were first undertaken by Abrão Ngulu and José Katito who went back to their own kin; and even more definitely since 1905 when Elende Station was opened with the idea that the only natives to reside there would be a small number of teachers and other leaders and boarding-school pupils who would afterwards return to their own families to form new centres of work.[2] That the village is a kinship unit has also been recognized and the description of the village of Ngendo showed that outstation work is being carried on *within* the kinship pattern of the village, and without doing violence to the Umbundu concept of social structure. The church elder and his villagers are accepted by the other villagers as kinsmen.[3] While it is evident that the way of life of the people of the school village differed from that of the elder's village, and the extent to which they mutually fulfilled kinship obligations toward each other may be questioned, nevertheless, the very fact that they mutually recognized ties of kinship and that they live side by side in harmony is of significance. It is also significant that the outstation leadership had come from within the kinship group. Likuluta Samikanjo, the elder, had attended boarding-school on a mission station, but only for a short time, and he did not pretend to be a teacher. In the beginning of the work an elder and also a teacher had been sent out from Elende Mission Station, but they had stayed only until the local people were able to carry on. The teacher at the time of my visits was Vitorino Mbambi. He belonged to the household of Likuluta's sister's son. The situation of the outstation of Ngendo is not unusual and could be duplicated many times by examples taken from various parts of the Umbundu country. It has been quite the thing for those individual Christians among the Ovimbundu who have become church elders to seek to establish villages or 'wards' of their own among their own kinsmen. Some teachers have also followed a similar bent, but if they were too young to receive the respect due to an elder of the Ovi-

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[1] *Missionary Herald*, 1898, p. 108.

[2] A.B.C.F.M., *Report of the Deputation to the W.C.A. Mission*, 1911, p. 66.

[3] See *supra*, p. 29 f.

mbundu, they have not, independent of some related elder, 177 797
generally been very successful within the kinship group.

There is another factor in the situation of the Ngendo out- 177
station which has tended to preserve the ties of kinship between 797
the villagers of the two groups. The support of the two leaders is 465
very largely found locally. Neither teacher nor elder has ever received more than a very occasional bonus from either the native church or the mission. They carry on by the help of the local people and through their own efforts. Dr. Gutmann holds that it is the schools which are most disruptive in their influence on African social structure because of their organization and the way in which they are carried on. A school, he says, should reflect the organic connexions of native society and enter into reciprocal relations with the folk group. Instead, he points out, this is being made impossible in East Africa by raising the salaries of the teachers until they are removed from the ordinary life of the rest of the people.[1] This cleavage between educated individuals who should be leaders and the masses of the people seems to have reached an even more markedly advanced stage in South Africa, according to Mrs. Hoernlé, Eiselen, and others who also seek remedies in strengthening or renewing the natural social bonds.[2] What I wish to emphasize is that the more important point is not how much salary a teacher or an elder may receive, but whether his appointment and the remuneration he receives tend to weaken the organic bonds of native society and to make difficult his relations with the folk group. Do the conditions of his position *ipso facto* place him or keep him outside the local group?

In seeking to lay among the Ovimbundu sure foundations for a 000
truly indigenous Church, the importance of ties of kinship have probably been recognized by more than one missionary. The importance of stimulating local self-support both for its influence on building up the Church and on the development of indigenous leadership has long been stressed in mission circles, although it must be recognized that the principle has often been honoured rather in the breach than in the observance. While recognizing the value of these principles as long-term objectives, impatient of meagre immediate and visible 'results' or failing to realize how

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[1] Gutmann, *Africa*, 1928, p. 443 f.

[2] e.g., see Eiselen in Schapera (ed.), *Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa* (London, 1934), p. 81.

to eat in public, will be served by himself in the *etambo* (spirit-hut). 867 With the decline of the *onjango* as an institution, there has been a great decline in the teaching of etiquette and social usage. As might be expected, this has affected boys more directly than girls. Girls and young women of the present generation and of the generation now coming on are, on the whole, more given to customary usage and forms of civility than are boys and young men. It is probable that contacts with Europeans, which have been going on for more than 150 years, have produced a number of [177] individuals and families who have paid less heed to correct usage and have neglected to teach children properly, but never has there been the wholesale disregard which is now encountered. If the analogy of the South African Bantu peoples is any criterion, a reaction back to things Umbundu may soon be expected. Some observers feel that it is already under way.

Little direct sex teaching is attempted, but the very fact of the 864 sex division of society is a considerable factor.

'A mother will teach her daughter saying, A girl does not play with boys, for boys are sharp ones.[1] Don't play with them. This advice is because of sex, although the child may not understand it at the time. But when the boys call her, she will remember the advice of her mother and may quickly reply, saying, My mother says, Don't play with boys: they'll hurt you. Thus she has taken to heart what her mother has told her and may go ahead in the same way. But as she grows up and separates from her parents,[2] then she may separate herself from their teaching.' Young children acquire incidentally a good deal of knowledge about sex both from other children and from adults. Although adults observe considerable reticence in speaking of sexual matters in the presence of children, living as they do with their parents in one-room homes, it is inevitable that sexual intercourse should sometimes be observed by children.[3] Although euphemisms of speech are employed in the presence of children, all the true terms are known by them. Hetero-sexual play is not in vogue.

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[1] *Imelẽlẽ*, lit. sharpened stakes such as those used at the bottom of a pit-fall to trap game.

[2] i.e. at adolescence, when she leaves her mother to stay with other girls of her age.

[3] Cf. Father Van Wing on the Congo child: 'A six ans . . . il en emporte une connaissance de la vie qui ferait rougir de bons jeunes gens d'Europe' (op. cit., p. 262).

463 *Wood-working*, including the following specializations:

- 462 Doors, windows, and their frames; coffins.
- [322] Beds, tables, chairs, &c.
- Mortars, pestles, grinding-handles, and handles for various iron implements.
- Stools, household utensils, carved images, staves, knobkerries, &c.
- Drums and other musical instruments.
- Canoes (dug-outs and coracles).

Rope-making, nets, and rudimentary weaving.

Thatching has its specialists although all men can thatch.

Fishing.

Bee-hunting, including the making of hives.

224 *Hunting*.

326 *Iron-smelting and smithing*.

791 *Medical-practice and Divination*.

The last three professions of the list are sacred and are entered under special conditions. They are often passed on by inheritance, but not always. All of them require sacrifice at certain stages, and when the enslavement of a spirit (*oku andeka*) is required, it is socially allowable. This seems to be the case with these offices as with those of the king and his ministers, both because of benefits accruing to the community in their exercise and also because of inherent danger to the individuals who exercise these functions.

●177 463 [797] The advent of European commerce, industry, and government has created a number of types of employment for boys and young men, some of which entail prolonged absence from the village and a loosening or severing of kinship ties. Church and mission have also offered employment and have opened new opportunities for advance in place and in position.

861 Later childhood, then, is the period of technical training during which it is expected that a large amount of economic responsibility will be assumed. A child begins to own property even before this, and from the beginning of later childhood will be accounted legally responsible for his actions. It is recognized, however, that he should not be set tasks beyond the experience or ability of his age and that the full responsibility of adulthood will only come with marriage.

[538]
> *Umãlẽhẽ ka tonyõlã ongulu yuvala*;
> A youth does not scrape the pig for the wedding feast;
> *pekonjo pa siala* (*ovonya*).
> on the hoof there remain (bristles).

867 the correct adjustments early, naturally grows into a comparatively
well-adjusted life, and so avoids the major conflicts to a much
greater degree than is the case in our society. A very large proportion
154 of those in conflict in present-day Umbundu society are de-tribalized
or partially de-tribalized individuals, especially those
who as children were brought up outside or largely outside the
kinship groups. The large proportion of those brought up on the
mission stations who are out of adjustment, and often in overt
conflict, has been noticed by many observers. The biographies and
autobiographies which I have collected witness clearly to the same
fact, that most of the ill-adjusted individuals and those in overt
conflict were products of an extra-tribal, de-tribalized, or non-traditional
situation; while practically all of the well-adjusted
persons were educated within the kinship system.

154 The three major conflicts which have been recognized in our
865 society, that is, 'struggle', sex, and 'inferiority',[1] are all present in
some form among the Ovimbundu. The adjustments by which
they resolve these conflicts are distinctive.

Adjustments in anger by which the 'struggle conflict' is resolved
are interesting and important educationally. The child is taught
when quite young that the expression of anger is taboo.[2] Tantrums
are rare among Ovimbundu children. Anger and ill-will are named
by thoughtful Ovimbundu as the chief root-cause of sorcery. The
more thoughtful ones also recognize these as an important cause of
accusations of sorcery. Expression of anger is traditionally much
feared. It is not desired in the character of the king.[3] Nowadays
[177] there are more who give free vent to expressions of anger, but they
are for the most part either individuals who imitate Europeans and
who seek to discard Umbundu cultural habits and values; or they
are those who are considered sorcerers, either by themselves or
others. An Ocimbundu who as a child has learned traditional
adjustments in anger will rarely allow his anger to break through
the resistance and become 'extroverted' except in recognized
outlets. These outlets are somewhat analogous to our own rationalizations
154 of anger.[4]

578 The chief 'introverted' reaction of anger which I have noted

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[1] The psychological analysis follows Allport, op. cit., chap. xiv.

[2] See *supra*, p. 101.

[3] See *supra*, p. 21.

[4] Cf. Allport, op. cit., p. 344. The Ovimbundu have not thought up such a high-sounding term as 'moral indignation' as a euphemism for anger.

572 [608] [181] expeditions. Many blood-brotherhoods were doubtless undertaken purely from motives of friendship.[1] The *vakuacisọko* is a friendly institution. The Ovimbundu are a friendly people.

156 Identification is a strikingly important feature of Umbundu social adjustments and of the whole learning process. Children overtly identify themselves with older siblings, with parents, with other older relatives both living and dead, with friends of their parents, with the village headman, or even the king.[2] This perhaps is the process involved in that which the Ovimbundu name reincarnation. It is largely through identification that character appears to run in families. This is why boys are so keen to learn the professions of their fathers or their mother's brothers. Identification with their seniors in social position and economic activity more closely cements the unity of the child–adult sphere and gives the children yet another urge to enter into adult life and assume complete responsibility as quickly as possible.

158 'Inferiority Conflict' has probably been present in Umbundu life for a long time, perhaps since the rubber trade (1874), perhaps even longer. When a people's activity is keyed to so high a pitch there will be some individuals who find themselves inadequate. There are a number of proverbs which ridicule the stay-at-homes or those 'too lazy' to undertake the exceedingly arduous trading [177] expeditions. European domination has set new paces and created new frustrations, with one result, that 'inferiority conflicts' are probably on the increase. Many individual instances could be cited. A particularly striking one of my observation is of a man whose suffering from epileptic seizures had induced attitudes of inferiority. The conflict was exacerbated by his selection as a hospital assistant, in which position the responsibility required was plainly beyond his ability.[3] Individuals suffering from any physical disability find life difficult among such an aggressive people.

[732] If the disability is great the handicapped individual generally finds the adjustment beyond his powers. I have observed a number of severely crippled individuals brought up in traditional kinship groups, and all of them were suffering from overt inferiority conflicts. All of these individuals had adopted compensatory

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[1] Although the rite seems to have connotations of sorcery.

[2] Among the Tallensi, according to Fortes, identification is only with older siblings, with parents, and with 'the clan' (op. cit., pp. 46 ff.).

[3] Epilepsy (*ocinonya*) is considered by the Ovimbundu as a visitation of the spirits and is much feared.

000 have for several years agreed to be the most effective. This is the method whereby babies learn their own language, a method which competent African teachers can easily understand and have adapted with good results.

Physical education and recreation would seem to be a simple matter among a people which spends so large a proportion of its time in out-of-doors occupations and one which, again, has almost universally good posture, and a large proportion of which is of
535 good physique. Comparing the Ovimbundu with their neighbours
868 to the north, the Ovimbundu are greatly superior both in physique and in posture. Umbundu forms of physical education are responsible at least in part. Carrying loads on the head, which is done by all ages and both sexes, has also had undoubted influence. Most important of all is the dance. The dance is very good physical exercise but it is much more than that. It is more than mere recreation. 'The dance is in most primitive societies an important factor in maintaining group solidarity.'[1] This is certainly true of the Ovimbundu. There is nothing which can take
000 its place. It is doubtful whether the solidarity of any group of Ovimbundu can be firmly established or long maintained without the dance. They do adopt various foreign forms of recreation, but the dance meets a deeper need. Whatever new exercises and games may be introduced the physical educator cannot afford to neglect indigenous forms.

533 Music is of great importance to the Ovimbundu. The Church
177 and mission schools have made much use of this musical ability and bent. The great choirs which give such pleasing renditions of European classical and sacred music would do credit to schools or colleges in any part of the world.[2] Less use has been made of native music but it is still sung, and some teachers have taken real interest in it. Not having described the Umbundu musical forms it is not possible to extend this evaluation. However, it must be noted that European music has been supplied with Umbundu words, and very successfully in some instances. Contrary to the predictions of several authorities, the result, most emphatically, is not 'a kind of musical pidgin'.[3]

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[1] Krige, 1936, op. cit., p. 336.

[2] See article by Elizabeth Scattergood Chalmers, 'The Music at the Jubilee', *Missionary Herald*, 1930, pp. 335–8.

[3] See E. M. von Hornbostel, 'African Negro Music', *Africa*, 1928, pp. 30–62. He offers some interesting suggestions on the use of drums. His conclusions on

their historical development. The traditional history and separate 175× European contacts of each of the several Umbundu kingdoms would occupy far more time and space than the limits of this study permit. I propose, therefore, to give in outline the broader trends of European contacts from the earliest days, filling in such items of traditional history as may be necessary for complete understanding, and to summarize this with a chronological chart in which the dynastic successions of the principal Umbundu kingdoms are included.

There are many books about Angola and several histories of Angola, so-called, but the History of Angola, in the proper sense of the term, remains to be written. None of the books written thus far has taken sufficient cognizance of the economic factors involved, whereas a history of Angola is no history at all if not an economic history. This is particularly true of this territory where two of the greater traders of the continent have met.

The Portuguese are the most tenacious traders of all the Europeans who have gone to Africa. Proof of this is the fact that the Hausa, Indian, Syrian, Armenian, or Greek traders, who almost monopolize the petty trade of most African colonies, in Angola 175* have no footing whatever. From the first, the Portuguese traders 439 began to utilize in their trade the services of natives of the old 177 kingdom of Angola. Early in the nineteenth century the Ovimbundu began to be noticed as traders and soon came to be known[1] as the greatest traders of Bantu Africa, after the Zanzibar Arabs.[2] These latter they met in the Great Lakes region, and they (the Arabs) subsequently began to come down to Benguela or Luanda themselves.[3] In the middle of the nineteenth century the Yankees in their clipper ships played a large part in the trade of the Angola coast. More recently the British have made considerable investments in trade and in industrial developments. After the war of 1914–18 Germans played an important part in the commercial life of the colony. Any history of Angola, then, that makes sense must be an economic history. This is no less true of the history of the Ovimbundu and their European contacts.

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[1] Under various names, as, for example, Mambari, Biheans, Bailundos, Kimbundus, Mbundus, &c.

[2] Cf. comparisons drawn by Serpa Pinto, op. cit., p. 163.

[3] The Umbundu name for the Zanzibaris is 'va Lunguana'; compare the medieval (1228) name for Zanzibar, Langujah (C. M. Doke in *Bantu Studies*, 1938, p. 135 f.).

175x *European Influences 1600–1770.* The first European contact of the Ovimbundu or of the 'proto-Ovimbundu' was without doubt
● 177 for purposes of trade. The first record which we have of any such
439 contact is in *Andrew Battell in Guinea.* About 1600 the governor, as the chief trader,[1] sent his prisoner Battell on trading expeditions along the Benguela coast. At the Bahia das Vaccas, the Ndombe, a cattle-keeping people, were met. They supplied the Europeans with produce,[2] including cattle and 'the famous sheep which have five quarters',[3] but *not* with the principal article of commerce, for as another of the conquistadores noted, 'In this kingdom there is
[567] no slave trade, for it is not their custom to sell each other.'[4] This lack was soon supplied by 'proto-Ovimbundu' when, on the next voyage, Battell with the 'Portugals and Mulattos' found the encampment of 'Jagas' at the mouth of the Keve River, from Battell's account of which we have already quoted.[5] Although hardly recognized as such at the time, this, it seems, was the beginning of a long commercial partnership. As long as the 'Jagas' continued 'to take the spoil of the land', they supplied many slaves[6] for the trade, and after they settled they became traders both in direct European employ and on their own account.

439 The early European settlements in Africa were made with the hope of finding gold, but although that metal was not found in the
567 Congo or Angola, black gold—human gold—soon proved to be
797 equally profitable. There was a religious motive in the Portuguese
175x discoveries, for from the time of Prince Henry the Navigator, his captains were bidden to 'plant the Cross on some new headland'. With every ship priests went out to convert the heathen. Some priests doubtless did good work but more of them, both individually and as members of the various orders, early came to the conclusion that the best way to convert the heathen was to sell

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[1] The governors continued to engage in trade openly, until forbidden by the law of 17 Sept. 1721, and then, says Lopes de Lima, some complied, while others did not (*Ensaios*, part i, p. 84).

[2] A. Battell, p. 16.

[3] L. Cordeiro (ed.), 1574–1620, *Da Mina ao Cabo Negro segundo Garcia Mendes Castello Branco*, p. 34. The reference is to the fat-tailed sheep of the Hottentots and their neighbours. This is perhaps the first reference to it on the west coast.

[4] Ibid., 1593–1631, *Terras e minas africanas segundo Balthazar Rebello de Aragão*, p. 15.

[5] *Supra*, p. 182 f.

[6] Battell, pp. 20, 28; L. Cordeiro (ed.), 1574–1620, *Da Mina ao Cabo Negro segundo Garcia Mendes Castello Branco*, p. 17.

people living there,[1] which also leads me to conclude that the 175*
Ovimbundu as we now know them were not there at that date. 726

About 1661 there was an expedition from Benguela in order to 648
restore a native ally, the 'Iaga Caconda', against an 'intruding Iaga'
who used fire-arms.[2] This is the first record of fire-arms in native [411]
hands in the hinterland of Benguela. Muskets and powder were [177]
sold from the time of Luanda's founding (1576),[3] but not all tribes took to them quickly.[4] If fire-arms were already in use by natives in the Benguela hinterland in 1661, it is most probable that the founders of the present Umbundu dynasties had them when they came to the country. The first presídio of Caconda was built in 1680, destroyed soon after, and rebuilt nearby in 1685. This was at four or five days' journey from Benguela but not on the Plateau nor within the present Umbundu area. The third presídio, known as Caconda-Nova, was built at its present site in 1769. Most writers have supposed this fort to have been built at its present site in 1685, overlooking the fact that there were not two sites but three.[5]
175*

European Influences 1770–1840. The governor who effected the 648
final moving of Caconda on to the Plateau, D. Francisco de Souza Coutinho, also undertook many other reforms designed to better the economic state of the colony. He brought something of the intentions of the great Marquez de Pombal to this remote tropical dependency. He seems to have been the first governor of Angola to realize the immense superiority of the Benguela Highland,

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[1] Cadornega, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 42–6.

[2] Cadornega, op. cit., p. 176 f. It is of interest that according to this author (1680) this expedition passed the Bay then known as 'Catumbella of Salt Water' or 'Catumbella of the Oysters'. Jaspert made the error of stating that this Bay (Lobito) was 'discovered by the English' about 1900!

[3] Garcia Mendes Castello Branco (1620) protested against allowing this traffic (*Da Mina ao Cabo Negro*, p. 25).

[4] In 1790 the Ovimbundu used fire-arms very well, but the 'Ganguellas' had not then adopted their use (*Annaes Mar. e Col., 5a Ser.*, p. 489).

[5] Lopes de Lima (*Ensaios*) made this error (or omission), and more recent writers have perhaps erred by following him. The correct accounts are given in the *Catálogo dos Governadores*, pp. 396 ff., 416 ff. (also to be found in *Arquivos de Angola*, vol. iii, pp. 507 f., 528). The facts are most clearly brought out by the governor of the District of Benguela in reporting a visit made to Caconda. He gives a short history of the presídio and tells of having seen the ruins of the earlier forts (*Districto de Benguella 1892*, Lisboa, 1894). The report to the Ministry in Lisbon of the governor, D. Francisco Inocencio de Souza Coutinho, explaining (among other things) the moving of this presídio, and dated 18 Oct. 1769, has been published in *Arquivos de Angola*, vol. i, no. 1 (Oct. 1933).

even earlier. Long before that the forerunners of the Ovimbundu 175x
kings, the 'Jagas', had sold their prisoners to the *pombeiros*. The 439
other side of the national lineage had probably bought salt from 648
Cisama[1] even before the white men came to the land.

Dominant Tendencies 1840–74. The next period in which there 439
was great commercial development among the Ovimbundu began 178
with the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, following upon 175+
the abolition of the monopoly in ivory and the development of new products as substitutes for the slave-trade, formally prohibited in 1836. This period saw a considerable increase in the number of traders resident in the region. The new régime at the coast may have caused some to go inland.[2] In Bailundu, and especially in Viye, they were well received by kings and by people who saw in the coming of more Europeans to live among them increased commercial opportunities.[3] For various reasons most of these traders established themselves in Viye,[4] and from this time Viye took first place in trade with the interior and with the coast. But since the caravan road to Benguela must pass either through

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[1] Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios*, part ii, p. 55.

[2] Some statistics on these older periods are available, but since they are them- 177
selves in disagreement and none of them seem to be very reliable I do not include them here. The Report of the Governor of Benguela for 1799 gives the rather optimistic figure of 78 *whites* (including 5 women) resident in the several interior districts (*Annaes Mar. e Col.*, 1844, p. 161), with correspondingly larger numbers for persons of mixed race and (civilized) blacks. In 1838, according to Lopes de Lima (*Ensaios*, part i, p. 4 f.), the number of *whites* in the same districts was only 14, with no women, and the number of 'brown inhabitants' correspondingly small except in Caconda, for which he gives the number of 2,992—more than in all the rest of the colony! J. R. Graça gave a list of 101 names of inhabitants of Viye alone, 'Portuguese or descendants of Portuguese . . . *including 6 Europeans*'. This was probably near the truth for 1846. Magyar (1849–57) gave very interesting calculations of the population and area of the several Umbundu kingdoms, but no figures on European residents.

[3] A very interesting glimpse of Bailundu in 1837 was given by a political exile, Carlos de Almeida Sandoval (*Annaes do Cons. Ultr., Ia Ser.*, p. 519 f.). Very full accounts of life in Viye have been given by Silva Porto, who first reached Viye in 1840, coming from Luanda (see some of his diaries in *Annaes do Cons. Ultr.*, Ser. I; *Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, Ser. 5, 6. A small volume of excerpts from Silva Porto's diaries was published in 1942 by the Agência Geral das Colónias under the title *Viagens e apontamentos de um portuense em África*.)

[4] The early continuous connexion of the dynasty with the Luanda government has been mentioned, as also the continuous appointment of a *capitão mor*. The incumbent at the time (appointed 1838) was Francisco José Coimbra, of mixed race from Caconda (*Annaes Mar. e Col.*, 1846, p. 118; *Annaes do Cons. Ultr., Ia Ser.*, p. 112 f.). Both Cameron and the early missionaries mention dealings with his sons. Some of his grandsons and great-grandsons, now reincorporated with the Ovimbundu, still tell of their descent.

made, there as elsewhere throughout the Umbundu-speaking 175x
territory, their wholesale manufacture was only carried on in 326
Ndulu. This was a natural specialization, for the best and most
easily accessible deposits of iron ore are in the Ndulu country,[1] 438
whose smiths have become justly famous. In exchange for hoes
they received palm-oil or cattle from other regions, or salt, rum, 175x
or goods from the coast. Other regional specializations were— 438
Kasongi and the Sele country for palm-oil, Cikuma for bees-wax [314]
(also obtained from the interior), cattle from Ngalangi, Kalu-
kembe, Cilengi, and farther south. Ciyaka, Civula, and Bailundu [243]
took much corn-meal to the coast in those early days. 'Trade-
agreements' were also made beyond the Umbundu-speaking area. 175x
At first these were strictly one-way affairs, allowing the Ovi- 648
mbundu traders to operate in many lands, near and far, since this
was to the advantage of the rulers of those lands. At the same
time, the men from Bailundu and Viye did and said everything
possible to discourage the interior peoples from venturing out on
their own account.[2] Later, when the trade, as well as knowledge
of the whites and their trade, spread, arrangements were made
between the king of Viye and various interior chiefs allowing them
to send their own caravans through to the coast, and gifts were [431]
exchanged periodically.[3]

Their very early introduction to articles of European use and 177 ●
manufacture has undoubtedly had great influence upon the 175x
development of the Ovimbundu. Their early and thorough
familiarity with fire-arms certainly played a decisive role in their
national formation and subsequent history. The introduction
of domestic plants and animals from abroad is an important
subject, but too broad for treatment at this time. The early
introduction of European-manufactured goods has had profound
influences.

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[1] See article on smelting and smithing in Ndulu by F. W. Read in *Journal of the African Society*, 1902, pp. 44–9.

[2] Livingstone tells of the displeasure of the Ovimbundu ('Mambari') at meeting the Makololo near Luanda. The Ovimbundu tried to frighten them from trading with the whites with tall tales, making the whites out as impossibly clever magicians and wizards (op. cit., p. 384). Cameron and his east-coast carriers experienced the displeasure of Viye people owing to jealousy of the same sort, but no longer so openly expressed (op. cit., p. 406).

[3] The Muata-Yanvo of Lunda was one of those who had such a 'trade-agreement' with Viye. Silva Porto notes in his diary on 14 Jan. 1880 that an embassy from the Muata-Yanvo had arrived with a tusk of ivory for Cilemo (*Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa, 5a Ser.*, p. 148).

175x influences. The stock to which the common people belong were
177 wearers of skins, which is true of many of them to the present time.
The people from whom the ruling houses came have a highly
developed weaving industry. The 'Ngangela' neighbours, who
[565] have also contributed elements to the racial make-up of the Ovimbundu,
[287] make and use bark-cloth. The Ovimbundu evidently gave
up the use of skins for clothing more than a hundred years ago.[1]
This fact, and the additional one that they never developed weaving
or bark-cloth industries, was probably due to their early and
widespread use of trade-cloth. Rum came with the slave-trade
177 from Brazil. They were almost inseparable. The ships which
273 fetched the slaves came laden with rum distilled in Brazil. The
567 rum was used in buying the slaves, and much more of it was consumed
439 by Ovimbundu—traders, chiefs, and retainers—than by
175x the interior people. Thus, while the slave-trade had such a disruptive
influence in the life of the interior tribes, rum did much to
corrupt the Ovimbundu. Native tradition[2] and the accounts of
early travellers agree on this point. Rum continued to come from
Brazil and from other countries or oversea colonies all through
this early period, but import was partly supplanted by distillation
at the coast, and this process was soon learned by the Ovimbundu
themselves.

439 The part which the Umbundu trade had in spreading the goods
567 and uses of the outside world is a fascinating subject and one which
175x would repay study. Ethnographical and historical knowledge of
Central Africa is not yet so extensive or precise that the dates
and places of these movements can be plotted with certainty. Professor C. M. Doke records that Nkumine, who ruled the Lamba sometime before 1840, sold many of his people 'as slaves to the Mbundu traders from the West Coast for calico, guns, and powder'.[3] It is important to remember that throughout this period the Ovimbundu were for all this part of Africa the chief intermediaries in the slave-trade. These activities affected the ultimate

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[1] See Magyar, *passim.*

[2] A Ngalangi tradition says that from the time of King Ndumba II (*c.* 1840) rum was so plentiful that it was poured into troughs, whence it was lapped up by all—men, women, and children. A constant difficulty encountered by the early missionaries was the objection of chiefs and their counsellors to the missionaries' refusal to give liberal presents of rum, as did all the traders.

[3] C. M. Doke, *The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia* (London: Harrap, 1931), pp. 36, 37.

the occupations of warfare and of trade to the more settled agricul- 423
tural life. And it is the possession and cultivation of land which provides a minimum basis for those who are also able to engage in any sort of trade, either commercial or one of the handicrafts.

Health. A sanitary history, or the course of health among the 164
Ovimbundu throughout their national existence, would be of 173
interest if it could be made known. Legend tells of a time in the 177
distant past when sickness was rare and death came hardly ever, if at all. It is said that hasty burials were not permitted because there had been cases of the supposed corpse returning to life. Some have taken this to mean that the tribe came from a more healthful region than the one which it now occupies, but it seems rather to be a traditional recognition of the fact that many of the diseases and bodily ills which at present afflict the Ovimbundu are of comparatively recent date. The time of arrival of some of these unwelcome guests can be estimated. Some are the subject of [136]
traditional tales as, for example, the jigger[1] (*pulex penetrans*), which a Ngalangi tradition says came to them from Bailundu, and Bailundu tradition says was first recognized in the time of Ekongo-liohombo (*c.* 1875) or Ekuikui II (*c.* 1876–93). Now the jigger is well known 164
in Africa as an importation from South America, and the time of 177
its first appearance could probably be determined. This parasite is widely present in tropical Africa, but there are some regions which it has not (yet) reached.[2] Its coming to Angola is probably, therefore, of recent date. Silva Porto, writing in 1879, said, 'This evil is of recent date on the coast . . . (*pulex penetrans*).'[3] The first notice of this pest which reached the pages of the *Boletim Official* of Angola was in 1875. If this date really represents the time when the jigger first appeared in Angola, it seems strange that it should have been so late, in view of the slave-ships ferrying back and forth from Brazil for the previous three hundred years.

Small-pox[4] might also be thought of as a recent arrival for, according to a note in the *Boletim Official*, it first appeared in Novo Redondo in June 1864, having been brought from Luanda by ships' crews.[5] Its first appearance on the Plateau, however,

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[1] *Ewundu* or *ocindiundiu* is the Umbundu name, from *oku wunda*, to hide (the hidden one).

[2] e.g. Amboland, according to Umbundu testimony.

[3] *Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 5a Ser., p. 10.

[4] *Ocingongo* is the Umbundu name.

[5] *Boletim Official da Provincia de Angola*, 1865, no. 5.

164 was prior to this, for it was mentioned by Magyar.[1] Among the
177 imported diseases are grippe, pneumonia, tuberculosis, and other complaints of the lungs and bronchia; the venereal diseases (especially syphilis); several so-called 'children's diseases' such as measles, scarlet fever, mumps, &c.[2] Typhoid fever is only beginning to appear, although it has long been known at the coast, at Malange (to the north), &c.[3] Diseases of other regions, as tropical ulcers, sleeping sickness, &c., are found only in patients coming from regions affected with those ills.

146 In comparison with the diet of other non-cattle-keeping tribes
177 of West and Central Africa, the diet of the Ovimbundu is fairly satisfactory. Certain it is that the articles imported by the Portuguese from America and elsewhere have done much to enrich the diet of this people. Only the mention of maize,[4] their staple and mainstay, makes this evident. Their early and close contact with the Portuguese gave them the advantage of many plants[5] brought by those rural-minded conquistadores,[6] which found their way inland only much later. (Mrs.) Alice K. Strangway has made an interesting study of Umbundu diet and has come to the conclusion that its principal deficiencies are fats and calcium. The Ovimbundu need to learn to make better use of the resources which are already theirs or at their command, as, for example, peanuts and soy-beans. Other improvements such as a more general use of milk and other animal foods can only come with education and an improved economic situation.

164 Magyar's account (1849–57) of the Ovimbundu gives the impression of a people in better health, suffering from fewer ills, and

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[1] L. Magyar, op. cit., p. 290.

[2] There are Umbundu names for all the foregoing, with several names or euphemisms for some, except for the lung and bronchial complaints which are spoken of simply as *vonulo* (in the chest), and scarlet fever which is called *osalambu* (from the Portuguese *sarampo*).

[3] In 1936 there was an epidemic of typhoid at Bela Vista among Europeans and natives. Infection was traced to Catumbela (at the coast).

[4] Maize has a true Umbundu name, *epungu*, as is the case with most of the early importations which the Ovimbundu adopted, save tomatoes (*amatia*).

[5] There is a good discussion of the American plants introduced into Africa in Ficalho, *Plantas úteis da Africa Portugueza*, pp. 32 ff. In *Benguella e seu sertão*, 1617–22, p. 17, the anonymous writer states that 'all kinds of vegetables of our Portugal do very well . . . such as: large corn (i.e. *mayz*), beans of various kinds, pumpkins . . . and melons'.

[6] Cá da Mosto tells of trying to grow wheat in Senegal (João de Barros, quoted by Ficalho, op. cit., p. 29 f.).

generally more resistant than those whom we know to-day. Some 164
of the imported diseases have probably been with the Ovimbundu [177]
since they first encountered Europeans, others are more recent,
but all seem to be more deadly to Africans than to Europeans.
This is especially true of the lung complaints, against which the
Ovimbundu have little resistance, and the manner of their life
makes tuberculosis very difficult to check.

Diseases native to the region also constitute a great problem,
notably malaria in its several forms, leprosy, bilharzia, yaws,
goitre, nutritional diseases, &c. The medical staffs of the govern-
ment services and of the missions are well aware of the magnitude [757]
of the problem. The resources at their command, however, are
terribly inadequate. It is urgently necessary that resources be
found and made available.

Religious Development. Before bringing this historical survey to 771
a close it is necessary to take note of certain developments with 177
regard to religion. It was noted in passing that representatives of the ruling families had, on occasion, returned to the lands of their exodus to worship their ancestors at the ancient shrines. From this it is evident that the ancestors of the ruling families became the gods of the kingdoms over which they ruled. The commoners kept their own ancestral deities, family by family. Special cults of various sorts have grown up. From the texts of a hundred to a hundred and fifty years ago it is evident that many of the religious practices of the Ovimbundu were then similar to those which are observed at the present time. Some practices described in those texts, on the other hand, seem to have ceased or to have been altered beyond recognition. The very presence of the Europeans must have affected the rites and their observance, for their attitudes, whether of approval or of disapproval, registered over so long a period, must have produced some effect.[1] Degrees of intensity of this European contact, varying from region to region, must have had their influence in the development of regional differences. Some such differences have been noted.[2]

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[1] Battell records that the 'Jagas' would not let him witness certain rites. Pinheiro de Lacerda, writing in 1797, says that he burned more than one hundred *oratorios* called *chacapombo* (*Annaes Mar. e. Col.*, 1845, p. 491).

[2] W. H. Sanders put down to their closer contact with Europeans the fact that the king's councillors of Viye were not 'a very dignified set. . . . They seemed to have none of that decorum which prevails among the head men of Bailundu' (*Missionary Herald*, 1886, p. 143).

177 The field of Umbundu reactions to cultural influences is a wide
771 and an important one. Whatever contact the Ovimbundu or their
progenitors may have had with the early Roman Catholic missions,
little impress seems to have been made. The cross has been
[787] adopted as an object used in divination. Certain rites *seem* superficially to resemble the procession with the Host, but there is no indication of the assimilation of any ethical or conceptual element from Christianity during the early or formative period.[1]

797 Christianity first came to the Ovimbundu with the arrival of three missionaries at Bailundu in March 1881.[2] This was during the reign of Ekuikui and proved to be not the least important event of that reign. It is not within the scope of this study to give a history of the work of this Mission.[3] Its inception was planned as carefully as the times permitted, and although its subsequent development did not always proceed according to plan, its progress on the whole has been of an orderly nature, and it has produced noteworthy results which have been evaluated by deputations, by commissions, and by other visitors from time to time.[4]

795 The amount of interdenominational co-operation achieved in
797 this field is worthy of note. There are the missions of the

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[1] There were missions of the Jesuits, Capuchins, Carmelites, &c., in Angola from 1575 until about 1800, and there were priests as chaplains of the various presidios visited by the Ovimbundu during most of their history. Major Artur de Paiva, writing in 1890 (see *Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 1895, p. 15 f.), describes the ruins of a Roman Catholic mission which he found in Cingolo (*Quingolo*) and which he judged to have dated from the end of the eighteenth century. I have found no reference in any historical work to the founding or operation of such a mission. It may have been built about 1770 when Governor Souza Coutinho ordained a number of towns in the Benguela hinterland, but the absence of specific reference to it seems to indicate that its existence was short.

[2] Messrs. Bagster, Sanders, and Miller sent out by the A.B.C.F.M. (Boston) to inaugurate a mission in Bihe, for that region was well known from the reputation of its traders, while Bailundu and other Umbundu regions had scarcely been heard of.

[3] For a brief summary of the early years see Strong, *The Story of the American Board*, pp. 336 ff.; also two articles in vol. 126 (1930) of the *Missionary Herald*, pp. 424–9; J. T. Tucker, *Drums in the Darkness*, gives a historical treatment of the work of this mission.

[4] There have been two 'deputations' sent to the West Central Africa Mission, in 1911 and in 1930, reports of which were issued by the A.B.C.F.M. Secretaries have visited the mission in 1924, '28, '30, '34, '38, and '46, and have given their impressions either in the *Missionary Herald* or in the *United Church Record and Missionary Review*. The report of the African Education Commission dealt with the work of this mission (T. J. Jones, *Education in Africa*, pp. 40, 239 f., 245 ff.). Among visitors who have written of this work see Nevinson, op. cit., chap. 7; J. Johnston, op. cit., chaps. 2, 3, and 4.

EARLY HISTORY

175 The earliest records of native migration in what is now Angola concern the warrior hordes of Jagas (Jaggas, Jakas, Jagges, Giaghis, Giaki, Ayaka etc.), who from about 1560 onwards were reported in north-western Angola and the adjacent Kingdom of Congo.(1) Various attempts have been made to identify the Jagas. Van Wing(2) and Torday(3) hold that the name is derived from the Bayaka tribe on the middle Kwango; Battell's account would seem to identify them with the Bangala (Imbangala) of Jaga Cassange, who are known to have been invading western Angola at this time. Childs points to suggestive links of the Jagas with Ovimbundu dynasties: e.g. the Ciyaka group of Ovimbundu, who recognise the region of Cassange as the location of their earliest ancestral tombs. He also shows that certain Jaga customs as described by the earlier writers resemble those connected with Ovimbundu kingship. Childs suggests that the name *Jaga* (which seems to derive from the verb "to fight" -*oku yaka*; "they fight" = *a yaka* or *vayaka*) was originally a name given to these hordes or to their leaders by the African peoples whom they fought and conquered.(4)

175 ●177 [721] European contacts with the people of the Benguella Highland took place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, before the migrations had settled down. Dutch and Portuguese raids took place in 1645, 1650 and 1661, and since fire-arms appear to have been used at that time by the Africans, it seems likely that Umbundu dynasties had them when they came into the region.(5) In 1769 the throwing open of the hinterland to European traders(6) led to greatly increased commercial contact, and this in turn gave rise to wars between the native rulers and the Portuguese. In 1774-6 a war was fought between the Portuguese and their native allies and the kings of Bailundu and Cingolo. Ciyaka and neighbouring kingdoms continued to raid the European garrisons until recent times, and Europeans appear not to have penetrated Ciyaka until almost the turn of the present century.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OVIMBUNDU TRADE

175 439 There are indications that before the end of the eighteenth century the Ovimbundu were becoming, or had become, traders. The slave-trade was formally prohibited in 1836,(7) and subsequently European traders began to move inland in greater numbers in search of ivory, settling especially in Bailundu and Viye. This began a period of great commercial development among the Ovimbundu, the principal commodities being ivory, beeswax, and, in the third quarter of the century, rubber.(8) Trading caravans of the Ovimbundu (under the names *Mambari*, *Eiheans*, *Bailundus*, or *Mbundus*) became

(1) See especially Battell, pp.19f.
(2) 1921, p.106.
(3) 1925, map facing p.282.
(4) Childs, op.cit., pp.185-6.
(5) Ibid., p.195.
(6) Entry of European traders to the hinterland had been forbidden by law in 1620, although the law had become largely a dead letter.
(7) Although contraband slave-trade continued until late in the nineteenth century, the slaves being used for the transport of ivory and other goods from the hinterland to the coast.
(8) These were at first one-way agreements, allowing Ovimbundu to trade in many lands, since it was to [illegible] advantage of the rulers of these countries. The Ovimbundu are said in [illegible] have discouraged the tribes to the east from venturing out on their [illegible] account. See Livingstone 1857, p.384, Cameron 1877, p.406.

197 v. Two significant tones on radicals; no tonal alternance on nominal suffixes. In this Umbundu resembles the Lunda-Luena languages."(1)

Childs(2) classifies Umbundu with the Ambo-Herero group as belonging
197 to the Western Province of Southern Bantu. He suggests(3) that the similarity of Umbundu to the Ngangela languages is due to the dominating in-
177 fluence of the Umbundu spoken in Viye (where the racial stock had a greater Ngangela element) over that spoken in other regions. This dominating influence may be explained by the relatively large number of missions in the Viye region, and presumably also by the activities of Viye traders.(4)

Dialectal differences in Umbundu speech are very small. There are certain noticeable differences between "up-country" and "down-country", roughly divided by the Keve and Kunene rivers. Each of the outlying regions has its own peculiarities, often due to foreign influences.(5)

It has been mentioned above that while the homeland of the Ovimbundu is in the Benguella Highland, the use of the Umbundu language is now more widespread. The Nganda and the Hanya tribes are increasingly using it, and the mixed populations of the coastal towns of Lobito, Katumbela and Benguella use it almost exclusively. It is also spoken in Nova Redondo, in Mossamedes, and along the Benguella Railway. This process of "Umbundu-ization" does not seem however to be taking place in Cipala, Sela or Musende, in spite of the long period during which they owned the king of Bailundu as their overlord.(6)

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE AND DRESS

142 Among the Ovimbundu two main physical types are distinguished by some writers:(7) one is of brown skin colour and slender build, the other a shorter, darker type with more facial hair. No correlation of these types with chiefly families on the one hand and commoners on the other has been recorded. Hambly(8) gives several good illustrations of physical types among the Ovimbundu, and contrasts them with those found among neighbouring tribes.

301 The Ovimbundu retain distinctive styles of dress, ornament, tooth mutilation (a V-shaped notch in the upper incisors), scarification and
304 hair-dressing. Women are dressed in trade cloth: unmarried girls wear
291 one piece of cloth which hangs from the armpits to the knees, while a married woman drapes herself with two pieces of cloth, a skirt hanging from her girdle, and an upper piece so folded as to hold her baby tightly on her back. Certain cloth designs are considered appropriate for girls, others only for older women. Men now dress usually in European fashion.

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(1) This linguistic note has been written by C.M.N. White.
(2) Op.cit., p.169. (3) p.190, fn.2.
(4) See above, pp.8-9.
(5) Childs op.cit., p.190, fn.2. See also Kalukembe, p.7 above.
(6) Childs, op.cit., pp.11, 179-80.
(7) See Hambly 1934, p.128; Cushman 1944, p.36.
(8) Op.cit., plates XLIX-L[illegible]V.

advancement, will go to the head of their *oluina* to ask for his intercession with the spirits.(1) 613

As legal head of the village, the *sekulu yimbo* presides over both the 622
more serious cases, which are held before the whole village on the dance- 623
floor, and the simpler ones, which require the attendance only of those 691
concerned, together with their respective elders, and may be taken up
either in the *onjango* or in the headman's own courtyard. Hambly seems to
suggest that all the section-heads act with the village headman as a kind
of council, but does not give details. He states also that the *olosekulu*
(sing. *sekulu*) of the village formerly had charge of trials for murder,
theft, adultery, and arguments over land,(2) and points out that they were
more active in the legal system than the chiefs.(3) This is even more [177] ●
true today, when the village court of justice continues to function in
spite of political and administrative changes, although the offices of
chiefs and to some extent of sub-chiefs have largely decayed.

Other functions of the village headman include: the distribution of 622
land to the various families when new village sites are opened;(4) the 423
direction of the communal fire-hunts;(5) and, today, the collecting of 651
taxes from the villagers and the direction and organisation of labour to
work on the roads.(6) But however numerous the headman's official 466
duties, he usually finds some time to attend to his own affairs, whether [463]
he is a farmer, hunter, or trader.(7)

Succession to headmanship is usually from father to son or from elder 622
to younger brother, "with only as much recognition of primogeniture as
belongs to the general ... hierarchy of age."(8) Succession is, how- 643
ever, affected by the "democratic" tendencies in succession to chieftainship.(9)

The Chief (osoma or sova)(10)

The Ovimbundu are grouped in 22 chiefdoms, of which half were in the 631
past generally tributary to the more powerful chiefs.(11) At the same 643
time each chiefdom had its separate government and could be considered as
a unit in itself. Effective European occupation and direct rule have
atrophied the chiefly office among the Ovimbundu, until today chiefs sur- [177]
vive as little more than "living museum pieces".(12) Childs(13) enumer-
ates the functions of the chiefly office as follows:

(a) *Religious.* The chief's ancestral spirits were the principal chief- 643
dom deities, and the king was high-priest as well as the visible "vice- 793
regent and incarnation" of the spirits. 769

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(1) Childs, personal communication.
(2) The maternal uncle is responsible for settling disputes over property which occur within the *oluina*. (Hambly op.cit., p.200).
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Cushman, op.cit., p.115.
(6) Ibid., p.121.
(7) Childs, op.cit., p.36.
(8) Ibid., p.44.
(9) Ibid.
(10) *Osoma* means chief or king. *Soma* is the personalised form used with the name. This the Portuguese writers have corrupted into *sova* or *soba*. (Childs, personal communication)
(11) See above, p.2.
(12) Childs, op.cit., p.20.
(13) Ibid.

lives of chiefs.(1)

The chief's council and court 646

It has been noted that there is a chiefdom council responsible for electing the chief or deposing him, and for sitting with him in law cases. The composition of this council has not been clearly described.(2)

The Sub-chief

The chiefdom(3) was made up of a number of sub-chiefdoms called *atumbu* 643
(sing. *etumbu*); Bailundu had about 200 *atumbu*, each of which had from 3 631
to more than 300 villages, while a number of the larger *atumbu* were themselves made up of smaller ones. About 20 *atumbu* were ruled by members of the chiefly family, including heirs apparent or expectant, and the chief's wife *(inakulu)* had also her own sub-chiefdom.(4) Others were ruled by court officials not of royal birth, who sometimes themselves established dynasties, others again by dynasties native to the respective regions, or at least dynasties longer resident in the area than the chiefly family. Villages of sub-chiefs, like those of chiefs, are known as *olombala*. Most of the *atumbu* are still recognised, and the sub-chiefs have retained more [177]
of their old functions than have the chiefs, and have in addition been given new functions. They as well as village headmen are required to assist in assessing and collecting native tax,(5) and also in recruiting [651]
labour for government work and for contracts. In some areas they receive in return the remission of their own taxes. On the dancing floor of most of their *olombala* cases are still heard, judgments given and fines received, although such judgments are not officially recognised or allowed by [692]
the European authorities.(6)

LAW

Courts

Very little information is available. We are told that certain disputes, 691
e.g. concerning inheritance, are settled within the *oluina*;(7) that 693
in the village cases are tried by a council which apparently consists of the section-heads under the leadership of the village headman;(8) and that these village courts continue to function; that certain cases (unspecified) are still unofficially heard in the courts of the sub-chiefs; and that prior to European occupation the paramount chief's decision was final.

(1) Ibid., p.23. But chiefs were treated with respect; Hambly (1934, p.214) notes that the ancient custom was for commoners to fall on their knees when greeting a chief, and today this still applies to women and children although less often to men. (2) See Serpa Pinto, 1881, p.167.

(3) Most writers use "kingdom" and "king"; "chief" when used here without qualification refers always to the paramount chief of one of the 22 chiefdoms.

(4) Magyar, 1851, pp.389f, also quoted by Childs, op.cit., p.24.

(5) The amount of the tax levied on all males from 16 years is now Ags. 200,000 annually. As noted by Childs (p.215-6), it has been steadily increasing. Opportunities for earning are comparatively small in Angola, not now for lack of work, but because of "contract labour" required of all males in addition to taxes. Payment for "contract labour" is considerably below current wages, and it is a great hindrance to productive agricultural activities. (Childs, personal communication) (6) Childs, op.cit., pp.24-5.

(7) Hambly, (2) 1934, p.200. (8) See above, p.29.

Vakuacisoko (lit. "those of the set")(1) 561

Childs consideres that the custom of *vacuacisoko* is probably connected with circumcision and initiation. It does not exist throughout the territory but only in certain families who belong to the order and are said to pass it on by heredity. It seems to have been stronger in the past, but few practising members of the set are now known. All 'coevals' or members of the set were in duty bound to render mutual assistance, and all had mutual rights to the property of the others without complaint or remedy. These rights seem to have included that of having intercourse with each other's wives. Injury or even death of one member brought about by another did not allow the injured family to seek revenge or legal redress. It was the duty of the *vacuacisoko* to bury their fellows, themselves digging the grave and attending to all the expenses ordinarily supplied by the family of the deceased. They also had the duty of burying strangers without family who would not be buried by others for fear of defilement or responsibility for their debts.(2) Childs describes the *vacuacisoko* associations as "age-grade sets",(3) but gives no further explanation. 572

"With or without initiation rites, adolescence is largely preparation for marriage and full adult life. Traditionally, adolescence is not a time of conflict or stress....Contract and *corvée* labour have brought profound changes, especially for the young men. As for the girls, a few have gone into the towns; relatively few, however, other than those who attend a boarding-school, lead a life essentially different from that which has been traditionally theirs."(4) 883 177

MARRIAGE

Available information concerning degrees of relationship in which marriage is permitted, marriage-payment, polygyny and divorce has been given above.(5) Evambi(6) and Hambly(7) describe some of the customs and ceremonies connected with marriage. 582

For three nights after the commencement of the marriage ceremony the girl sleeps with her own parents, while the married woman and six unmarried girls whom she has chosen as her attendants sleep in the house of her husband. On the fourth day she moves to the man's house, bringing her cooking utensils. For the first month, according to Hambly, or, according to Evambi, the first year, i.e. until the grain is ripe in her new fields, she lives with her husband's mother or aunt, in whose kitchen she cooks food each night to send to her husband in the *onjango*. When her first child is two or three months old, a present of a pig passes from the girl's mother to her husband. 585 [606]

Childs(8) adds that adulthood comes with marriage, and marriage is only recognised as complete when the first child has been born. A child or an adolescent is only a "potential" person *(omunu)* and the permanency 585

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(1) Childs, op.cit., p.115.
(2) Those who buried a man were considered responsible for his debts. Hence corpses were often placed in trees.
(3) Childs, op.cit., p.59.
(4) Ibid., p.117.
(5) Pp.20f.
(6) 1938.
(7) 1934, pp.180f.
(8) Op.cit., pp.119-20.

The coastal strip

131 was at times traversed by the Ovimbundu who know of the sea and
484 call it *kalunga*. Bihéan caravans crossed to the coast with slaves, as history shows, but the nature of the coastal strip marks it as a western barrier limiting the expansion of the Ovimbundu in that direction. The coast line itself is of the greatest moment in the consideration of historical factors. From Loanda, Benguela, and
● [177] Mossamedes on the coast, the Portuguese penetrated the interior, so making contacts with the Ovimbundu to the encouragement of caravan trade. The importance of this European contact will be seen in subsequent chapters.

The south and southwest parts of Angola are of particular importance in studying the contacts of the Ovimbundu, but to give here the details of the wealthy cattle-keeping culture of these regions, which were accessible through peaceful proximity, trade, and occasional raiding, would be an anticipation of chapter X, "Culture Contacts."
[723] One topographical point is of primary importance; namely, the ease with which the Ovimbundu could descend from their strongholds to the low-lying land of the west and south, whereas the reverse journey is much more difficult for a people unaccustomed to manoeuvring and finding their way among hills.

101 Having described the northern, central, western, and southern areas, there remains only the eastern section to consider; this presents several features of peculiar geographical and ethnological interest.
[133] The eastern section of Angola is either slightly undulating or flat, the general characteristic is dryness, and vegetation is somewhat
[136] sparse though sufficient to shelter many kinds of antelope.

The major population is the Vachokue, a warlike, hunting people, who follow agricultural pursuits but slightly, and do not keep cattle. Examination of the literature describing early exploration indicates
[726] the truculent nature of these eastern people with whom caravans of Ovimbundu were in frequent conflict. Umbundu caravans crossed this country when making their way to Rhodesia, culture contacts with which are discussed in chapter X.

The results of contact of Ovimbundu and Vachokue tribes, so far as physical miscegenation is concerned, are mentioned in chapter "Physical Appearance"; while the social effects of slavery resulting from hostilities are described in chapter VI, "Social Life."

174 Rhodesia is a cattle-raising country, but the hostility of the
231 Vachokue, the great distance from central Angola to Rhodesia, and the general dryness of the country to be crossed, discourage the idea that the Ovimbundu obtained their cattle from Rhodesia. If it is

175 that the Church participated actively (T. Lewis, The Old Kingdom of Kongo, *Geog. Journ.*, 1908, pp. 598–600).

Political influence of the Portuguese, working often through the agency of Jesuit priests, led to factions within the Congo Empire, and the resulting disturbances caused movements of peoples that affected the whole of northern Angola and the population of the Benguela Highlands.

Portuguese penetration of the hinterland of Angola, especially from Loanda to Bihé, was concerned with attempts to subjugate native tribes, the establishment of trading posts, and the encouragement of the slave trade (S. Marquardsen, Angola, 1928, pp. 6–10).

439
721 The value of the Portuguese as allies of Umbundu caravans from Bihé lay in their ability to supply guns and powder to their native henchmen, who gave something more than military service in return. In response to Portuguese demand for slaves and ivory, Umbundu caravans made long journeys into the Congo basin, Rhodesia, south and southwest Angola, and possibly across Africa to lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa. The arms supplied in exchange for ivory and slaves must have helped the Ovimbundu in all their predatory excursions.

648 Thus the Ovimbundu were, ~~in~~ the early centuries of contact with the Portuguese, invaders encouraged in the building up of their tribal life and resources. Never were the Portuguese strong enough completely to subjugate northern Angola. Relationships with natives, especially the Bihéan section of the Ovimbundu, were directed toward alliances on a commercial basis. The political result of this was a combination of the Portuguese and the stronger tribes for the exploitation of the weaker.

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177 The historical ethnology of the southwest Congo is so complex that the elements are difficult to disentangle. The number of tribes concerned is great, and their movements are not easy to follow; but a gradual extension of people from the Congo in a southwesterly direction through Lunda to the Benguela Highlands (1600–1800) seems to be the summation of all the conflict. I regard the Ovimbundu as the most southerly branch of these mass movements, during which they received a discipline that enabled them to make their home in central Angola, despite opposition from the Portuguese and earlier arrivals.

114 For these conclusions reliance has been placed on the extensive field work and historical analyses of E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, whose "Notes on the Ethnography of the Bambala" (*J.R.A.I.*, XXXV, pp. 898–426) have proved of particular value in this connection.

175 O. Dapper (Description de l'Afrique, 1732, p. 369) shows a scene
171 in which an ax, such as I obtained from the Vasele country, is being
used for beheading a slave.

[412] Cavazzi (Istorica descrizione, etc., Bologna, 1687) describes the
three kingdoms of Congo, Matamba, and northern Angola. The
[325] poison ordeal, the scapegoat, the blacksmith's bellows (pp. 101, 170)
[534] are all traits known to the Ovimbundu. The musical instrument
made from a large gourd, which has a ridged board attached for
rubbing with a stick, is the type I collected. Cavazzi pictures the
double iron gong and the long drum held between the knees. He
[782] also shows a rain-maker (p. 214) and the sacrifice of two hundred
victims at the accession of a king (p. 210).

174 Consideration of the history of maize in Africa is of importance
243 in connection with these early writings, as this grain is the staple
agricultural product of the Ovimbundu. I am indebted to Dr.
[113] Berthold Laufer for access to his unpublished research on this subject.
From the following facts one may assume that, in all probability,
the maize culture of the Ovimbundu was derived from the Congo
region before their migration into the Benguela Highlands.

175 Father Jerome Merolla remarks that maize was growing in the
243 neighborhood of San Salvador (1683–92). The native names were
mampunni and *massambuta;* from this corn an alcoholic beverage was
prepared. According to Cavazzi (Ehrmann, Geschichte der merkwürdigsten Reisen, XIII, 1794) maize was not intensively cultivated
by the Negroes of lower Guinea, though it thrives well and may be
harvested twice or thrice a year. The natives said that the grain
[177] was brought by the Portuguese, but they did not esteem it highly,
and were accustomed to use it as food for pigs.

Bosman (p. 312) records that prior to the arrival of the Portuguese, Negroes were entirely ignorant of *milho* ("maize"). The account of Duarte Lopez preserved by Filippo Pigafetta states that the Negroes consider maize the vilest of all grains, so that it is given to swine. This contempt and lack of knowledge of the food value, combined with ignorance of methods of preparation, suggest a recent introduction (Pigafetta, translation by M. Hutchinson, 1881, p. 40). Dapper (Description de l'Afrique, 1732, p. 345) also mentions the cultivation of maize. Battell lived as prisoner in northern Angola about the year 1600, consequently his records of the use of the great Guinea wheat (maize), which the natives call *mas-importo*, give early evidence for the use of this grain (Hakluyt Soc., 1901, pp. 9, 11, 67).

He draws the crescentic arrowhead (p. 123) still common among 175
the Ovimbundu and Vachokue; the double iron gong (p. 122); and 114
the musical bow, which he calls a viola (p. 121). [534]

Sogaur states that iron-working had an advanced technique at 175
Dindo, more than half a century ago. According to Sogaur, the 326
blacksmith was using scrap iron from European sources (II, p. 14).

Perhaps the most valuable of Chatelain's books is "Fifty Folk 173
Tales of Angola." The stories are accompanied by translations and [114]
ethnological notes, the most important of which are references to the
carrying of a corpse on a pole; the building of a cairn of stones over [764]
the corpse of a hunter; matrilineal descent and the power of the [611]
maternal uncle over the persons of his nieces and nephews (sisters'
children). My observations included some details respecting the [604]
pawning of a sister's children to redeem the debts of their mother's
brother. Chatelain adds that sisters' children are successors to [428]
private property and chieftainship (pp. 8–10). My notes agree that
property is inherited by children of a deceased man's sister, but my
informants said that a new chieftain is normally the eldest son of the
principal wife of the dead chief. Chatelain's folklore stories, fifty in [538]
number, relate chiefly to animals; this was the only kind of story
told to me, but W. C. Bell has recorded a few tales of another type.

Marquardsen (1928) devotes only one-fourth of his book to the 114
ethnology of Angola, which he treats in a very general way; there is 177
no section dealing specifically with any particular tribe. The author
calls attention to Chapman's observation of rock paintings of South [531]
African Bushman type, between Cuma and Luimbale in northwest
Angola. I have elsewhere remarked on the occasional occurrence of [144]
physical types which show a strain of Bushman blood. Today
Bushmen penetrate southern Angola from the Kalahari (Plate LXIX,
Figs. 1, 2), but their presence in times past or present does not affect
the course of history or the data of ethnology to an appreciable extent.

Marquardsen gives some notes of a general kind on Vaheneca, 114
Mahuila and other tribes of southwest Angola. The suggestion is 101
feasible that the Umbundu name Suku, for a supreme being, is the
same as the Nzambi of Lunda and the Congo. Marquardsen refers
to the importance of the maternal uncle in Umbundu society, to the
poison ordeal, and to the burial of an Umbundu chief in oxhide, all
of which points were recorded in my observations at Elende.

Ferreira Diniz's book is unobtainable, but, judging from the summary given in *Anthropos* (XX, 1925, pp. 321–331), the information was collected by a questionnaire widely distributed among adminis-

In northern Angola the Ovimbundu could not have had other than 174
a warlike existence, which trained them in military tactics and the 178
building up of an aggressive confederacy. In this they were aided by contact with the Portuguese, who supplied guns and powder in exchange for slaves and ivory from the interior. This accumulated wealth further stimulated the building up of Umbundu tribal life.

Introduction of maize by the Portuguese gave the Ovimbundu a 177
knowledge of this grain, which later became their staple wealth and food supply.

The cultural pattern of the northern Congo was the same in the 174
year 1600 as it is today, and consideration of the ethnology of the Congo region reveals numerous similarities with Umbundu culture of the present time.

Writings of explorers in Angola from A.D. 1800 to the present day bring out many points which are in agreement with my field observations. There are no discrepancies which would make me question the validity of information given by my informants.

In early records, Battell's observation of cattle in the hinterland [231]
of Benguela (1600), is important in showing that at such an early date the Ovimbundu had access to cattle when raiding from their home in the Benguela Highlands.

From these fundamentals of geography and history the inquiry turns to a detailed account of my observations among the Ovimbundu and surrounding tribes.

The picture of types gathered at Ngalangi (Plate LXXXIX, 142
Fig. 3) shows, reading from left to right along the back row, then 101
along the front row in the same direction: an Ocimbundu; an Ocivokue; a man of the Vangangella; an Uluchazi woman; a Lunda man; and two types of the Vangangella.

The M'Bunda man and woman photographed at Cangamba
display characteristic deformation of the upper central incisors [304]
(Plate XCI, Figs. 1, 2). Photographs of a Mussurongo man and two women, taken about a hundred miles east of Malange, show no great difference from the Ovimbundu except in their shorter stature (Plates LXX, Figs. 1, 2; LXXI, Figs. 1, 2). The Bushman (Plate LXIX, Figs. 1, 2) shows a type found wandering in small bands in the south of Angola. These photographs were taken at Cassanga.

The dress and personal ornaments of the tribes dwelling to the 171
south of the Ovimbundu (Plates LIX–LXVIII) are entirely different 301
from the clothing and decorative styles observed in the areas occupied 304
by the Ovimbundu. This statement is true with regard to bodily covering, ornaments, tooth mutilation, use of pigment, scarification, and hairdressing.

In respect of all these factors, males and females of the Ovimbundu [177]
have distinctive patterns which do not appear to have influenced, or to have been influenced by the styles around them.

In working southward from Elende I passed through typical Umbundu cultures until the vicinity of Kipungo was reached. At this place the change in physical appearance, ornaments, and hairdressing was remarkable both for its abruptness and distinctiveness. But the change from agricultural to pastoral pursuits is gradual.

A comparison of photographs indicates at once the truth of this statement, which can be further illustrated by a detailed description of the ornaments observed from Kipungo to Mongua.

By far the most important of these is the circular *omba* shell 301
made from the basal part of a gastropod shell of the genus *Conus* 321
Linn; and allied forms. These are highly prized, not because of any [825]
intrinsic worth, but on account of strong sentiment arising from their
bequest, which is usually in the female line. I have, however, seen [562]
a few males of the Vakuanyama wearing these shells. For the old *omba* shells monetary offers equal to the earnings of a woman for a period of six months were made, but without success. One woman wavered somewhat, but finally decided that she dared not return to her home without her *omba* shells. From a Portuguese trader I bought, for a small sum, *omba* shells showing stages in manufacture.

A principal wife builds up her

302 [595] 171 hair into five high cones. Vachokue women mass their hair into separate balls shaped and held by clay and red coloring matter. I know of no hairdressing for Vachokue men, but ornamental wooden combs are sometimes used.

304 In only one place have I seen a nose pin worn, namely, the Esele country of Vila Nova de Selles. The fashion is out of date, but women of only twenty-five years of age have the septum of the nose bored; evidently the custom has not been obsolete for a long period (Plate LXXV, Fig. 1).

177 439 301 The most popular European importations are blue cloth with white spots, metal hair combs, beads, and bright metal crosses bearing a figure of the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus. This ornament has penetrated to districts far away from Christian missions, and its wide dispersal shows that a newly introduced and attractive ornament from a foreign source may readily be accepted by tribes of different cultures.

517 301 There are interesting points of psychology in the attitude of the Ovimbundu toward European importations. Only a few patterns of cloth are favored, and there is no sale for any other design. Some designs are thought to be appropriate for young girls while others are favored by older women. The same may be said of colored beads, for whereas both blue and white beads are the usual decoration for young women and immature girls, red beads are worn chiefly by the elderly women.

178 A consideration of personal ornament establishes the general truth that in scarification, hairdressing, tooth mutilation, the use of red powder and grease, the anointing of the hair with palm oil, and the wearing of trade cloth, leather, or bark cloth, there is little exchange of styles. There are diffusions in language and other cultural traits, but decorative elements which have for a long period been regarded as distinctive of tribal life are rigidly preserved.

V. ECONOMIC LIFE

The words "economic life" are here used with a wide connotation 182
including nature lore, food supply, trade, transport, and industries;
all these are combined to form a foundation for every aspect of the
social life of the tribe.

The truth of this is realized if one pays attention to the rites 788
connected with occupations. For the hunter there is special training, 782
ritual, and a peculiar mode of burial. Final ceremonies in the initia-
tion of a young blacksmith are associated with sacred acts such as
sacrifice of animals and the sprinkling of the tools with their blood.
Even the simple occupation of pounding corn requires that the rock
shall be dedicated to this purpose by sprinkling the blood of a
chicken on the surface. Similarly, a clay pit has to be consecrated
before the raw material may be taken for making pottery. A caravan [787]
journey is not merely a commercial undertaking; the accompanying
medicine-man carries a wooden figure which he consults with regard
to the route (Plate XXI, Fig. 5).

Division of labor according to sex is one of the most important 462
principles involved in the economic life, more particularly in occupa-
tional groupings, which are strictly observed. Moreover, within any
one activity, such as house-building, there are tasks for men only,
while other parts of the work are performed exclusively by women
or children.

The study of industries is of great importance when a comparison 322
of Umbundu and adjacent cultures is being made. This is particu- 177
larly true in the instance of wood-carving, an occupation yielding
highly specialized products some of which are connected with religious [778]
belief and ritual. All artifacts are valuable as criteria of cultural
contacts, though their reliability as evidence of trait diffusion natu-
rally varies with their degree of complexity. Study of native indus-
tries in relation to European contacts illustrates a cultural process
which may result in acceptance, rejection, or ingenious adaptation
of new ideas.

That a study of the economic life of a tribe is not merely a record- 182
ing of material processes and artifacts, is illustrated by observation 231
of the treatment of cattle. This pastoral pursuit naturally falls under
a heading "Domestic Animals," but the ideas associated with cattle,
including funeral feasts, use of horns on graves, and the wrapping of
the royal corpse in oxhide, lead directly into important matters of
belief and ritual.

Olungunga is not a sweet manioc, so is not eaten raw. The roots 252
are placed to soak in a stream for three or four days before they are roasted on a fire, after which they may be eaten with impunity. As an alternative the roots may be dried in the sun; they are then pounded into meal which is scattered into boiling water so that a mush is formed. The Umbundu name for this preparation is *iputa viutombo,* meaning "mush of manioc." The leaves of *olungunga* are not soaked in water; on the contrary, they may be cooked as soon as they are gathered, but they must not be eaten when warm. There is no danger in eating them after they have been boiled and have been allowed to become cold. The leaves are served with [263]
salt or fat.

All the manioc, with the exception of *olungunga,* is sweet. *Kandona* has roots which may be eaten uncooked, but both leaves and roots are sometimes cooked in water. Other varieties of manioc known as *otetu, elemba,* and *esela* are eaten in the same way as *kandona.* Manioc is in use all the year, but the greatest quantity [221]
is consumed in November and December, a period when the growing corn is not ripe and the storage supplies have dwindled.

Sweet potatoes are plentiful all the year with the exception of the months of November and December. They are placed in the pot, without removal of the skin, and boiled for a period of twenty or thirty minutes. They are taken out, peeled, and eaten. European potatoes are sometimes peeled and made into a mush. The variety of garden produce naturally depends on proximity to a [177] ●
trading post, a mission, or some other European settlement.

In propagating manioc a stem is cut off from the parent plant 244
which is about three feet high; but probably two or three years pass [221]
before the tubers are considered large enough for use. Sweet potatoes are planted in January, but there is very little of this food available in February and March. Toward the end of March or early in April a few potatoes may be ready for consumption.

Peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea,* Leguminosae) are planted in October by women who prepare patches of ground which are drilled with holes one inch deep and eight inches apart. One nut is placed in each hole after the shell has been removed. Above the ground small leaves appear. After the flower-stalk withers it has the peculiarity of elongating and bending down. In this way the young pod is forced underground, and the seeds mature a little way below the surface.

Some natives employ irrigation by leading small channels of 312
water from a hillside stream to a garden containing maize and

I have seen an Ocimbundu male riding an ox without saddle. A 492
cord was passed through the animal's nose to serve as reins.

The Portuguese name for horse is *cavalo*, a word which the Ovimbundu use in the form *okavalu*, though there is an Umbundu word *ocingongovala*, which means "going with his neck up." The Umbundu words for donkey and mule are *ocimbulu* and *omula*, respectively. 192

Generally speaking, the ears of animals are not clipped, neither are cattle branded or otherwise marked to indicate ownership, but sometimes the ears of pigs and goats are cut to aid identification. When asked why the tips of the ears of dogs are mutilated an Ocimbundu will say that a dog with uncut ears does not hear when called (Plate LVI, Fig. 2). 231

Not many families own large herds of cattle among the Ovimbundu, and I did not see a big kraal until I was in southwest Angola. Cattle, which are a measure of wealth, are used for paying fines, making funeral feasts, paying debts, and securing wives. The cattle throughout Angola are well-developed, handsome animals (Plate LVII, Fig. 1). The bull remains with the herd the entire year; there is therefore no particular season for the birth of calves. Usually cows are not milked by the Ovimbundu, consequently these people have no milk, butter, or cheese. The Vakuanyama of the south milk their cows and churn butter in calabashes slung on a pole. 233 556 [171]

The Ovimbundu say that milking the cow makes the calf thin, but where the idea of milking the cow is borrowed from the Portuguese the Ovimbundu have a procedure which is as follows: The calf is allowed to suck for a few minutes in order to deceive the cow; then the milker begins his work. At intervals of a few minutes the calf is allowed to suck in order to continue the deception. 234 [177]

Cattle are killed at the funeral feasts of the rich, and the horns of the slaughtered animals are generally mounted on a pole in the vicinity of the grave (Plate XLVI, Fig. 2). [765]

The horns of the cow may be used for making water-pipes in which tobacco is smoked, or they may be employed as magical horns when filled with medicine. The hide is pegged out in the sunlight for one day after it has been scraped; it is then rolled and kept until required. When about to be used, the skin is soaked in water for one day. The hide is used to cover the tops of stools, to make pouches and to manufacture bags for carrying corn. In bygone days each king had a wooden box covered with hide, which contained his powder and metal when he went to war. The cow's tail is used 237 281 [illegible]

322 532 The tools used by the wood-carver are the saw, ax, adze, and knife. The products of this craft may be conveniently divided into the following groups:

(1) Figurines of human form (Plate XXI, Figs. 1–6).

(2) Animal forms, chiefly snakes, tortoises, birds, and lizards. The dog is sometimes represented (Plates XIX, Figs. 1–5; XLI, Fig. 1).

[534] (3) Parts of musical instruments, such as drums and the base-boards of *sansas*. The latter often have the metal keys mounted on boards decorated with elaborately incised patterns (Plates XLI, Fig. 2; XXII, Fig. 5).

[415] (4) Domestic implements and utensils, chief of which are heavy wooden beaters for flattening mud floors of houses, grain pounders, stools, cups, platters, bowls, and a heavy pestle and mortar (Plates XIII, Fig. 3; XVIII, Figs. 1, 2).

[531] (5) Carved sticks and clubs; these often show elaborate incised decorations of geometrical patterns. Frequently the head of the stick is carved to represent a human head or a full-length figure. [293] The ornamented stick or club is carried as part of the personal dress and artistic equipment. The throwing club is usually a straight stick with an undecorated knob at the end (Plate XX, Figs. 1–10).

(6) Carved wooden posts representing the human form. These are set up at the wayside. One has been obtained from a grave near Bailundu.

(7) Tobacco-pipes and snuff boxes (Plate XV, Figs. 2, 4).

177 532 Figurines of human form require special consideration, because they have claims other than that of aesthetic expression. The figures representing Europeans, or natives using some article of foreign introduction, illustrate the grafting of foreign ideas on older methods of work.

113 The art of the African Negro has of late years been accorded a place of honor in critical circles of Europe and America (P. Guillaume and T. Munro, Primitive Negro Sculpture, New York, 1926). Usually, however, the formal technique of lines, curves, and the general aesthetic effect have been discussed to the exclusion of the ethnological background which determines style and function.

532 By far the best example of carved human figures collected in Angola was the one from Cangamba (Plate XXI, Fig. 4). This female figure, 60 cm high, is carved from hard, dark, red wood in such a way as to achieve a graceful result by the employment of a few

285 171 Among the Ovimbundu are to be found baskets which they themselves seldom copy. These examples are from the Vachokue country of eastern Angola. The Vachokue specialize in making winnowing trays and rectangular baskets which are twilled by passing each weft over two or more warps.

By this technique, combined with the use of brown and black weft and warp, a great variety of geometrical patterns is produced. Trays of this kind vary in diameter from 50 to 200 cm. The Vachokue also make large strong trays in which honey is exposed to dry.

In the neighborhood of Cassanga wicker-work baskets are made. The warps or stakes are rigid while the more flexible wefts bend in and out. At this place there are both Ovimbundu and Vachokue inhabitants.

Women of the Vakuanyama in southern Angola make exceptionally neat little conical baskets by lashing coils very tightly. The lashing is done in such a way as to leave the outer surface covered with small chevron-shaped designs.

177 285 There is an intrusion of European influence which tends to mar the work of the Ovimbundu and other native craftswomen. Soft dyes produced by methods described are sometimes replaced by brightly colored, imported dyes; old ribbons from typewriters are soaked in order to extract coloring. The Ovimbundu are imitating European forms of basketry in a few centers, though the native method of coiling is still used.

WEAPONS

411 The bow of the Ovimbundu is made of hard red wood which takes a high polish after use. It is round in cross section and tapers considerably toward the ends. The length is usually 150 cm, not an inconvenient size in view of the fairly open bush through which the hunter has to make his way. The bowstring is made of a thin strip of twisted hide, which is looped over each end of the bow by a slip knot made of two half-hitches. A shoulder at each end of the bow shaft prevents the slip knot from passing down the shaft. In some examples only one end of the bow stave is notched. Usually, after completing the slip knot, the hunter leaves a surplus of bowstring which is wound round the shaft. One bow which is not notched has rattan wound round the stave to prevent the loops from slipping.

The bow for shooting bird arrows is small and is used only by boys; the string is of twisted vegetable fiber.

In addition to pouches, hide is used by the Ovimbundu for the 282
seats of four-legged wooden stools. Before stretching the hide over
the wooden frame the edge of the leather is cut into strips which are
interlaced on the under side of the stool (Plate XVIII, Fig. 1). There
are few evidences of the hide having been dressed; usually the hair
is attached. The Ovimbundu understand the dressing of hides in
a crude way. The hide is soaked, after which the inner surface is
rubbed with ashes. The hair is scraped away and the hide is tightly
pegged out. Hide was formerly used for covering wooden boxes
in which a king carried his powder and possessions to war. Scraped [534]
hide is used to form the tympanum in tubular wooden drums.

In only one part of Angola, notably in the south among the 171
Vakuanyama, is leather used as clothing. Women wear pleated 282
skirts of hide and several broad leather belts, while the men have [291]
small leather aprons in front and behind. Men only are the leather 462
workers. The hide is soaked and trampled under foot for many
hours in order to soften it and make it pliable; the hair is not removed.
Before leather clothing is worn it is thickly greased with a mixture
of fat and red powder from *tukula* wood (Plates LXV, Figs. 1–3;
LXVII, Fig. 1).

SPINNING AND WEAVING

My interpreter Ngonga remembers the use of a heavy upright 286
loom about twenty years ago, but this loom is not used at the present 177
time among the Ovimbundu. The Ovimbundu have been in contact
with Europeans for three centuries. This has not been a close and
permanent contact, but it has been sufficient to account for the
disappearance of a one-time essential art. There are in Elende some 287
very fine raffia palm trees, but no use is made of the leaf fiber for 171
manufacturing clothes. Bark cloth is not made by the Ovimbundu
of Elende, but I have seen the Vangangella and Ovimbundu of
Ngalangi engaged in stripping, beating, and preparing bark for use
as clothing, which is formed of one piece wound round the body.
The bark cloth is not dyed or decorated with patterns.

Frequently at Elende men are seen engaged in spinning cotton 283
which is used for repairs, and not for fabricating garments. The 824
cotton is obtained from a shrub which has reddish leaves and yellow
flowers. The cotton may be seen protruding from the calyx in the
months of June and July. The man who is winding holds high in his
left hand a slender stick which is wrapped for a length of two feet
with fluffy cotton. All work of pressing and twisting the cotton into
a thread is done by the thumb and index finger of the right hand.

in return. Even a slave used to have rights of appeal to the king 000 643
if he were starved and beaten without cause. The king was the prime 177
mover in warfare. The whole legal system is at this time directly under Portuguese administration though the kings and chiefs have minor powers. Ngonga says that complainants who are dissatisfied with the decision of their own chief go to the Fort, meaning of course the Portuguese military post, or office of the Administrador.

There is no doubt that in former days the responsibility for crime 672
and debt was transferred to a relative in the absence of the delinquent. 604
If a thief escaped, responsibility would rest with a brother, a father or a son. The mother's brother was often held to be responsible for the misdeeds and debts of his sister's children. The mother's brother has rights that extend to the sale of his sister's children to pay his debts. For this reason Ngonga says, "If I have done wrong and they cannot catch me it is right that he (mother's brother) should pay for me."

I supposed the case of Ngonga having stolen a cow; he has been caught but escapes. Ngonga said that the man from whom he had stolen the animal would go to his (Ngonga's) mother's brother in order to name the price required for the cow, or any other possession which had been stolen. If the mother's brother thought the price reasonable he would pay. On the contrary, if the price claimed were [692]
too high the mother's brother would appeal, first to the village chief, then if necessary to the king.

Ownership of land does not appear to have been a source of dis- 423
pute. Apparently land was distributed by the chief as explained in dealing with village organization. Rights seem to have been well defined and there was always enough land for a stranger. When a [426]
man was going away on a trading journey he might lend his land to another who would agree to cultivate it and take the produce for a year. I was unable to satisfy myself that land is now, or was in time past held to be the property of dead ancestors. The right to land depends on its use and allotment by a chief at the time of founding a village. A man who intended to be absent would make [437]
a payment so that he might leave his goods at the house of another. The chief would settle any disputes arising from these arrangements.

The complainant in a suit is called *ombile*, the defendant is *ovilue*. 695
The name for a witness is *uvangi*. In the old days a false witness had to make recompense to the man about whom he had told a lie; he would probably have a beating as well. A master was in every 672
way responsible for the actions of a slave. The degree of responsi-

fines were in their hands. If he murdered one of the royal family 682
he was killed after he had paid the fine." The punishment of a woman [562]
who has committed a murder is the same as that for a man.

Ombulungu is the name given to trial by poison ordeal. The 695
medicine-man holds out both his hands, in each of which there is a potato, only one of which is poisoned. The accused man says, "If I have done this thing, this potato will be poison for me. If I have not done this thing, this potato will be food for me." The complainant says, "If this is not the man who poisoned my brother, this potato will be poison for me." They sit in front of the medicine-man, and each must take the potato in the hand opposite to him. The poison makes a man very sick. His mouth swells so that he cannot speak.

When a woman was accused of murder her son or her brother [562]
would take her place in the poison ordeal. A boy of fifteen years of age would have the same treatment as a man. "I don't think a girl would kill anybody. I never heard about it," said Ngonga. It appears that resort was made to a medicine-man when the accused was thought to have committed murder by poison or magic. If the murderer used weapons, the accuser, who was usually a relative, was entitled to kill him with the kind of weapon used for the crime.

The penalties for adultery were the same as those for murder. 684
The woman appears to have escaped punishment, except that "her husband would not have her any more." The male adulterer had to pay the husband; if he could not pay or escape, the husband had the right to kill him. In the old days the price for adultery was two oxen, a pig, and a slave. At the present day a man who has committed adultery and made payment, possibly takes the woman and all children under three years of age. The husband has the right to decide whether the adulterer has the privilege of taking the woman and her children. An adulterer with one of the king's wives was
castrated but not killed. He might, instead of mutilation, pay a very [567]
high price, while he himself along with his sisters and the sons of his sisters, would become slaves of the king. If a man could not pay, he might be sold as a slave in order to provide money for the fine.
Criminal law did not distinguish between responsibility for inten- [671]
tional and unintentional offences.

It is very difficult to say how much of the old law survives. One 681
feels that underneath the ostensible Portuguese rule there is an active 177
native life that is resisting subjugation.

Only two years ago Ngonga paid an ox to prevent one of his female 686
relatives from being pawned. Within the past ten years Ngonga has

686 actually paid to redeem his brother and sister who were sold to pay the debts of his maternal uncle. Officialdom is one thing and actual [177] practice is another. Ngonga is right when he says that people appeal to the native law as laid down by the chief or king. If they are not satisfied they pretend a great respect for Portuguese law and therefore go to the Administrador.

WARFARE AND SLAVERY

648 726 The Ovimbundu have been for centuries an organized people possessed of a well-developed language, a legal system, and complex social organization. In trade and travel too, the Ovimbundu have been in the vanguard of African tribes. These reasons, in conjunction with the fact of numerical superiority and early contact with the Portuguese, would account for the success of the Ovimbundu in warfare. The defensive federations existing between the ten or twelve main political units, whereby they did not habitually war on each (643) other, helped to assure success. Should the eldest son of a king's principal wife be thought unsuitable as successor, a competent son of the deceased king was elected by a council of village chiefs.

411 There is no evidence that the Ovimbundu poisoned their weapons, neither do they do so today. The Ovimbundu do not use a shield at the present time, neither is it certain that they had shields in former times. A skin-covered powder-box was carried in the king's train when on the warpath.

718 Signaling-drums were about two feet long. They were made from a cylinder of wood over the ends of which skin was stretched. Signaling, which was accomplished by drumming with the palms of the hands, was the task of boys who resided in the king's compound, except when they accompanied him to war or on a trading journey. There was no system of smoke signaling. The iron war gong was named *ongonge*, but the instrument is nowadays tapped by the assistant of a medicine-man during his performance. In former times the gong was struck in the night to give assurance that the enemy was not in sight.

726 In war the oldest son of a king or of a chief went ahead of the war party accompanied by a few men who wore red leaves on their foreheads.

721 Intertribal jealousies, raiding for cattle and slaves, also reprisals for interference with caravan trade, were the chief causes of conflict with surrounding peoples. There was undoubtedly some internal warfare within the confederacy. The Ovimbundu of Elende, Bail-

881 short fiber skirts worn within this enclosure by the novices, are in
171 agreement with the observations made at Cangamba. There is
304 also a close resemblance between the independent accounts of
[114] H. Baumann and F. and W. Jaspert for the Vachokue, also P. A.
Delille and E. de Jonghe for the southwest Congo.

The question of initiation rites, past and present, among people of pure Umbundu culture is important. The matter is more fully dealt with later in discussing cultural contacts and cultural losses, but there are a few points which should not be omitted here.

At Caconda, an Umbundu center of western Angola, Père R. P. Laagel stated that only two years ago he had visited an initiation camp of Ovimbundu boys in the hope of persuading them to return to his mission school at Caconda. My informant stated that the boys were circumcised, beaten, and confined to an enclosure for several weeks. Those who cried out when flogged received a double portion of blows. Poisoning is the fate of a boy who reveals the secrets of the initiation camp to women or uninitiated boys. This is the most direct testimony I have received concerning initiation rites among unmixed Ovimbundu.

881 From Bailundu and Elende I have obtained slight evidence of
292 initiation rites. At the former place, which, like Elende, is a center
171 of the Ovimbundu tribe, fiber costumes were obtained. The mask
from Elende is unlike those used at Cangamba, Katoko, and Ngongo. The fiber suits are, however, no different from costumes used at these places. Initiation ceremonies are not held at Elende today, and beyond Dr. Ennis's statement that circumcision rites have been revived in the past fifteen years of his long residence in the neighborhood of Elende, I have no evidence of ritual.

881 The data relating to initiation of boys in Angola suggest loss
177 of the initiatory rites from Umbundu culture, until only a few old
masks and costumes, along with attenuated ritual, remain sporadically. On the contrary, in eastern Angola and particularly among the Vachokue, who are farther than the Ovimbundu from coastal influence, initiation ceremonies flourish. At present there is occurring a penetration of initiation rites from the Vachokue area into east-central Angola, which is a region of cultural admixture.

867 The foregoing pages have described certain institutions and social forces which collectively bring individuals into conformity with tribal standards of conduct. The influences at work in this direction may be direct or indirect.

Among direct educational forces are the home training given 867
by parents and the mutual responsibility of children and their mother's brother, whose reciprocal obligations have been explained. Family life is undeniably an important institution whose power is by no means suppressed by the strength of the village community and tribal organization.

Initiation, which may or may not coincide with puberty, is 867
perhaps the most potent direct influence in formation of character 881
and the inculcation of principles tending to tribal solidarity. Formerly warfare and hunting were more important than they are today, consequently initiation rites imposing hardship and emphasizing the importance of concerted action, had a greater social value than they have at present.

Formal instruction in industries such as iron-working, or pro- 874
fessional hunting, indicates one aspect of occupational training. [868]
In these instances there are apprenticeship and an initiatory rite. All children are, however, subject to an indirect industrial education through the agency of play, while a few, according to desire and aptitude, become experts in some particular occupation.

At all times the force of suggestion is at work in the home, in 869
the men's council house, and through everyday observation of the conduct of elders. Probably folklore stories also have an indirect educational value, because some of the fables show the desirability of courage, honesty, and foresight, at the same time deprecating cowardice, stupidity, and low cunning.

In chapter IX religious beliefs are discussed, and, in connection 771
with these, standards of conduct are outlined. Although the Ovim- 869
bundu have a belief in a supreme being and creator (Suku), and
although they believe in survival after death, there is no evidence [776]
to show that conduct and education are influenced by theological beliefs. Suku, who is vaguely conceived, is far away and uninterested. He issues no commands. Neither is there a belief in punishments and rewards after death. The standards of conduct are based on utilitarian principles which secure harmony and unity.

The efficiency of the direct and indirect educational forces of 177
the Ovimbundu is attested by the history of the tribe. The indigenous system of education, supported by favorable environment, consolidated these people so that they became the dominating power in Angola. Moreover, their cohesion has been such that three centuries of European contacts have failed to eliminate all the basic elements of their tribal life.

193 *ka wa tuŋgili*, you did not build
ka va tuŋgile, they did not build
omanu ka va yongola oku tila, the people do not wish to flee
ocimunu ka ci yongola upange, the thief does not wish work
ha ngombe ko, it is not an ox
ha njoko, it is not a house
ha munuko, it is not a person
ha manuko, they are not people
ha ci munuko, he is not a thief
ha meko, it is not I
he yeko, it is not he
ha veko, it is not you
he tuko, it is not we
he nako, it is not you
ha voko, it is not they
si ci munuko, I am not a thief
ku ci munuko, you are not a thief
ha ci munuko, he is not a thief
ka tui munuko, we are not thieves
ka wi munuko, you are not thieves
ha i munuko, they are not thieves

TRANSCRIPTION OF FOLKLORE STORIES

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Ombwá	*lolwisó*	*lwáyo*[1]
Dog	with Greed	His

Ombwá	*kèyaù,*	*okásitu*	*vómèlà.*	*Yi*	*li*	*lókúyókàyoka*
Dog	on bridge	little meat	in mouth.	It	is	there to cross

òlwi.	*Vováwá*	*yi*	*letemo*	*ómbwá*	*yekwávò*	*lonumbá*
stream.	In water	it	sees	dog	another	with piece

yìnénè	*yósìtù.*	*Ombwá*	*yà lólá*	*okásitu*	*káhè;*	*yà*	*wílà*
big	of meat.	Dog	dropped	little meat	his;	it	threw itself

vováwá	*hà yi*	*kwátà*	*ósìtù*	*yìnénè*	*yikwávò.*	*Omó*	*yà*
in water	in order to	catch	meat	large	other.	Thus	it

ñelísá	*òlònúmbá*	*vìválì,*	*yikwávò*	*ya*	*káįlè*	*láyò,*
lost	pieces	two,	the other	it	was	with him,

yikwávò	*yi*	*léte*	*pólwì.*	*Yà vi*	*ñelísá*	*momo*	*o kwete*
(the) other	it	saw	in stream.	It then	lost	because	he had

olúŋgòŋgò.	*Isó*	*lilmólá mólá*	*ondjámba,*	*òkù lįénda*	*ka li ká*
greed.	Eye	sees (continuously)	elephant,	in going	it is not

veléla	*ohatù.*
increased	meat-hunger.

[177]

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[1] Presumably an adoption of the well-known European fable of the dog and his reflection.

756 men and women each of whom receives the name *ocimbanda*, and specialization in some particular form of magical practice is the [554] rule. Some practitioners are more highly esteemed than others. For example, an *ocimbanda* who has the reputation for curing dizziness, madness, and *onyalai* (p. 281) is one of great repute; so also is the man who can cure a case of blood in the urine (*biliosa*). [164] This is the Portuguese term commonly applied to blackwater fever.

DIVINATION

787 An examination of objects collected gives the best indication of the equipment of the *ocimbanda*, and among these no item is more important than the small divination basket containing a heterogeneous collection of objects.

A diviner receives the distinguishing title of *ocimbanda congomba*, and a description of his methods explains his belief in the activities of spirits. He shakes the basket while his assistant plays a small friction drum; then he inspects the objects lying at the top.

A figure with beads on its neck indicates that trouble is due to the ghost of a dead baby whose spirit wishes to come back.

A piece of gourd with a round orifice means that some one has been talking too much. The orifice represents a human mouth.

Two figures, male and female, whispering together, indicate that a husband and wife are making a plan to poison somebody.

The figure of a female with a large abdomen indicates that the spirit of a deceased pregnant woman is causing sickness in the village.

The horn with shells on it indicates that the woman who is consulting the diviner will not bear children.

There is a little figure with a black tuft on its head, whose [177] arrival at the top of the basket indicates that misfortune among the natives is caused by Europeans. When talking to this figure the medicine-man tries to speak like a white man by adopting a falsetto voice and mimicking the intonation of Europeans.

The figure with a little crest on its head is an indication of sickness or other trouble arising from a spirit which likes to drink blood. When this figure comes to the top of the basket, the medicine-man induces the blood-drinking spirit to enter a man, because the evil must first be localized before it can be exorcised. This possessed person dances with a small ax or a hair switch in his hand. When dancing has induced a frenzy, the dancer kills a pig and drinks the fresh blood. The blood-drinking spirit is in this way exorcised from the community.

174 pattern. In principle, the puberty rites for boys and girls of eastern Angola are the same as those of the Congo region, and masks of eastern Angola resemble those used by the Bapindi of the southwest Congo. Cannibalism was a factor common to the Congo basin and the territory occupied by the Ovimbundu, who have practised ceremonial cannibalism within the memory of persons still alive.

The foregoing summary, supported by preceding details, makes clear that a substantial part of Umbundu culture is definitely like that of the Congo basin. There can be no objection to the evidence as a possibly fortuitous series of vague resemblances, since the entire backgrounds are of the same pattern. The Ovimbundu have a tribal life which is demonstrably a part of the matrix from which, on historical grounds, it is thought to have been derived. The loss of elements, the stressing of others, and the welding of traits from different sources, are matters for discussion in a final chapter dealing with the processes of cultural growth.

RHODESIA

439
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A constant factor in the economic and cultural development of the Ovimbundu has been the caravan trade from Bihé and Bailundu northeastward across Africa to the Great Lakes, and southward across Moxico into the Zambezi valley and Rhodesia. Every traveler from Battell (1600) onward mentions these caravans which returned to the Benguela Highlands with slaves and ivory. The traditions of journeys still live. Umbundu words are used to describe the Great Lakes, and I have mentioned a wooden figure used for consultation by the medicine-man at a division of routes. There are even today a few large caravans.

The first regular slave traders into northern Rhodesia were the Mbundus from Angola. The Lambas say they were peaceful traders who brought calico, guns, and beads to trade for ivory and slaves. The Mbundu traders were often treated treacherously by both the Lambas and the Lenjes. In some cases they were robbed by the Lamba chiefs. It is said that the Lenjes used to bring their own children to the Mbundu traders in order to buy calico and powder. In the evening the Lenjes used the newly acquired guns to attack the Mbundu traders so that they might recover the children who had been traded (C. M. Doke, p. 79).

The account of F. S. Arnot is a valuable record of a journey which brought him into touch with these traders' caravans, whose route he followed into Garenganze, a country to the southwest of

Lake Moero, close to the territory occupied by the Barotse. With 439
his Bihéan carriers Arnot passed along the valley of the Kwando 177
(Livingstone's Chobe). He notes the use of bark cloth (p. 101) and gives an excellent description of the divination basket. "For divining they have a basket filled with bones, teeth, finger nails, seeds, stones, and such articles which are rattled by the diviner till the spirit comes and speaks to him by the movement of these things" (pp. 106, 116). The *onganga* or witch doctor is described on page 115; he is a person not to be confused with the *ocimbanda* or legitimate medicine-man.

Arnot saw a corpse tied to a pole supported on the shoulders of several men. "The witch-doctors demanded of the dead man the cause of his death, whether by poison or by witchcraft, and if by the latter, who was the witch? The jerking of the bier is taken as the dead man's answer." This is the ceremony I described at Elende about three hundred miles from the place mentioned by Arnot. "When a chief dies they say he is sick or asleep [p. 117], and an oxhide from a beast killed at the funeral should be buried with the chief's remains." Arnot was not quite correct; the body of the chief is sewn in the hide. "The people of Bihé say that there is a great spirit Suku over and above all, but they do not know him—I cannot say they believe him to be a universal god" (p. 119).

These instances recorded half a century ago are particularly interesting because of their agreement with present-day procedure. Arnot's description of the Vachokue country and the preparation of beeswax, also the method of extracting honey from hives lodged in trees (p. 146), would serve as a present-day record.

Arnot's information concerns the Garenganze country bordering on Katanga, a copper-producing region near the Lualaba River. Here traders from Uganda, Unyamwezi, the Luba country, the basin of the Zambezi, Bihé, Nyasa, and Zanzibar, gathered to carry on their trade in copper, salt, ivory, slaves, flintlock guns, powder, cloth, and beads. Apart from the evidence of any other writer, that of Arnot alone would suffice to prove the importance of cultural contacts of the Ovimbundu through caravan trade.

One would be mistaken in supposing that the Bihéans made occasional contacts only. For three centuries there has been this to-and-fro movement between the Benguela Highlands and central Africa. In Garenganze, about eight hundred miles from the centers of my research, Arnot noted several points that have been recorded in my notes. The word for medicine-man is *ocimbanda* (p. 242).

439 The vertebrae of serpents strung together as a girdle are a cure for rheumatism (p. 237). A necklace of pythons' vertebrae was obtained from a chief of Ngalangi who wore the bones to cure that affliction. In Garenganze twins were introduced to the chief at a ceremony conducted by a female *ocimbanda*. The Ovimbundu welcome twins and one of triplets is given to the king.
177

171 E. Holub (II) mentions important traits of culture among the Marutse, a Rhodesian people who keep cattle. The Marutse have an aptitude for working in iron, horn, wood, bone, and leather. The masked dance at which performers wore tightly fitting jackets of netted fiber, with close-fitting sleeves, gloves, and stockings of the same material, would serve as a description of the costumes worn in the ceremonies observed at Cangamba in eastern Angola. Holub notes the use of the double iron gong at these dances (vol. II, pp. 168–170). The bark receptacle (p. 308) is the one commonly used in eastern Angola, and along the line from Saurimo to Malange.

The Marutse have the poison ordeal in which vomiting is a sign of innocence, the witness being the god Nyambe (p. 322). Gourd decorations of the Marutse and Babunda tribes show a technique comparable with work of this kind done by the Ovimbundu (pp. 305, 335). The practice of cupping is described by Holub (p. 325); so also is the custom of wearing wooden hair-combs (p. 349). These are cultural traits of the Vachokue and the Ovimbundu.

In his "Eine Kulturskizze des Marutse-Mambunda Reiches" Holub gives a few additional points which connect the Marutse culture with that of eastern and central Angola. The main instances are the technique in gourds (p. 81); the form and hafting of axes (p. 116); blacksmith's bellows and tongs (p. 129); the musical bow (p. 139); the board with metal keys (p. 138); the small friction drum, identical in pattern with my specimen from Elende (p. 140, fig. 70); a musical instrument consisting of a notched board which is rubbed with a stick (p. 142); tobacco-pipes made from the horns of animals and from gourds (p. 147); cylindrical snuff boxes and sticks for pounding snuff (p. 150, fig. 83); wooden hair-combs (p. 155, fig. 87); and wooden stools (p. 163, fig. 92).

All these articles, which are pictured by Holub as being representative of the work of the Marutse of Rhodesia, have their exact parallels in Field Museum collections from the Ovimbundu.

Perusal of "The New Africa" by Schulz and Hammar was not ethnologically fruitful except for a series of outline drawings (vol. II, p. 265), which is an instrument of the Ovimbundu and several tribes of the southwest Congo. The marimba, made from eight slats of wood with gourds underneath, is well known in the north and east of Angola. /7/

There is real similarity both in form and function between the culture of Rhodesia and that of the Ovimbundu. This assertion does not rest on consideration of a few factors of a general kind. In addition to the weight of evidence afforded by the long list of similar factors detailed in this section, one must bear in mind the geographical proximity and the known historical connection of the areas under discussion. The following points are of primary importance in accounting for the similarity of culture patterns in Rhodesia and the highlands of Angola occupied by the Ovimbundu. /74

(1) Central Angola and Rhodesia have so many traits in common with each other and with the southwest Congo culture that together the three form a cultural harmony.

(2) Central Angola and Rhodesia have both derived factors from the cattle culture of east Africa, though by different routes.

(3) Rhodesia and central Angola have had prolonged direct contacts through caravan trade carried on by the Ovimbundu.

(4) In addition to diffusion there has been a convergence of cultures in Rhodesia and central Angola because of similarity of geographical conditions. Both are high plateau regions having a degree of heat and a rainfall suitable for the growth of maize and the rearing of cattle. Therefore these occupations have developed in both regions because in each locality there has been a need, favorable conditions, and a like response to physical conditions.

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

The principal tribes of this area are the Ovambo, Herero, Berg Damara, Nama Hottentots, and Bushmen. The most important tribes to consider from the cultural point of view are the Ovambo and the Herero. Wandering bands of Bushmen occur in Angola, and here and there may be seen among the Ovimbundu individuals who appear to have a trace of Bushman blood; but comparison of collections and notes relating to the Ovimbundu with literature on Bushman tribes does not reveal any similarities. There has undeniably been some contact of Bushmen with the inhabitants of Angola, but Bushman influence has probably been very slight from a cultural and physical point of view (D. Bleek; S. Marquardsen, p. 109). /77

177 [197] The Ovambo include eight kindred tribes, all of whom are branches of the Bantu linguistic family to which the Ovimbundu belong. The Vakuanyama, who inhabit large tracts of southern Angola, are a numerous, warlike, pastoral branch of the Ovambo. The Vakuanyama are the only section of the cattle-keeping peoples of the southwest of Africa with whom I have made personal contact; but their culture is generally representative of that of the Ovambo and the Herero.

171 233 When making a journey southward from the country of the Ovimbundu in central Angola, there is a noticeable increase in the size of the kraals as the journey is continued. The first large kraal was observed near Kipungo, and when as far south as Mongua the wealthy cattle-keeping Vakuanyama were by far the most numerous people. Their total strength is probably about 55,000. I journeyed through the Kuanyama country in July, halfway through the dry season, but found that cattle were watered at deep wells from which men and women were constantly drawing water for the herds. Near Ondjiva, only a few miles from British South West Africa, the ruler of the Vakuanyama owned at that time 14,000 head of cattle.

After examining 1,200 objects collected in Angola, I feel sure that cultural contact between the Ovimbundu and the Vakuanyama is unimportant, so far as artifacts are concerned; but, if the inquiry turns to other aspects of culture, there is a more fruitful line of investigation.

Many beliefs and customs center in the keeping of cattle in east and south Africa. The typical cattle-keeping area begins with the Bahima in the vicinity of Lake Victoria Nyanza. The region extends down the eastern side of the continent, through the south and southwest into Damaraland. The Vakuanyama of southern Angola should be included in this area, which has homologies in respect to certain laws, ceremonies, economic customs, and religious beliefs.

The true pastoral area of the south of Angola extends at least as far north as Huila, where there is sufficient rainfall to produce good pasture in open country which is well adapted for raising stock. All the traditions of the Ovimbundu, along with the writings of Battell, suggest this southwest part of Angola as the line of entry for cattle. The Congo basin is not a pastoral country, and transportation of cattle from Rhodesia would necessitate the crossing of hundreds of miles of arid country in Moxico, eastern Angola. There remains, therefore, the cattle-keeping area of south and southwest what degree of complexity there is in the artifacts and beliefs which 174 are under comparison. Reason and form, that is, psychology and 114 morphology, are both important aspects of comparison. The work so far accomplished with regard to the Malayo-Negritan theory of African cultural traits fails to comply with the foregoing essentials of comparative study.

There is consensus of opinion against the Graebnerian hypothesis in its present form. E. S. Hartland reviews Graebner's "Methode der Ethnologie" (*Man*, 1914, No. 70) with the result that he finds Graebner too insistent on the value of forms as a criterion of generic relationship. In fact such a method may degenerate into pure subjectivity. F. Boas (*Science*, XXXIV, No. 884) takes the same point of view in remarking on the exclusion of the psychological field of inquiry; Graebner's method has a too mechanical character.

In view of this criticism, and as a result of personal observation of the culture elements of Angola, I am convinced that the somatological, linguistic, and cultural data for considering the spread of the Malayo-Negritan culture in Africa are not sufficiently understood to lead to a demonstration of any kind. For instance, Portuguese East Africa, the hypothetical starting point of the migration, is by no means well studied in detail, and the problem demands that data relating to the supposed area of introduction should be particularly complete.

The same criticism relates to the farthest point of west Africa reached by the supposed cultural stream from Melanesia. A theory which aims at showing generic relationship between secret societies of west Africa and Oceania cannot successfully rely only on general resemblances of masks and the use of netting costumes. Something more specific than a comparison of forms of artifacts and the occurrence of such ill-defined institutions as age-grades, totemism, and secret societies is essential in order to make the kulturkreis theory acceptable.

The problem of cultural relationships between the Ovimbundu 174 and other African tribes is simplified in several ways. Geographical 177 continuity exists between the African areas discussed, and to a great extent the cultural contacts described are matters of historical fact. Data relating to the Ovimbundu themselves are fairly complete; and what is equally important, there is trustworthy literature bearing on the areas surrounding the Ovimbundu. Therefore, comparisons do not rest on the study of a few simple forms, but on the cultures taken as a whole with regard to cultural traits of all kinds.

174 Evidence adduced up to the present has indicated the relationshi
177 of cultural elements of the Ovimbundu to those of tribes immediatel
surrounding them (chapter X).

In addition to this, the ethnological facts of the present chapte have made it clear that the tribal life of the Ovimbundu cannot b explained by confining the inquiry to immediate culture contacts The Ovimbundu have without doubt drawn very widely on Africa cultural streams during the growth of their present social pattern The truth of this statement has just been illustrated by referenc to ritual connected with blacksmiths, Bantu religious beliefs, th Bantu social system, African puberty rites, hunting appliances musical instruments, and other cultural elements.

A consideration of the kulturkreis theory indicated that a search for the origins of Umbundu culture cannot profitably be extended to Indonesia and Melanesia. Therefore the final chapter is confined to a summary of types of African culture, with a view to showing the relationship of Umbundu culture to each of the main racial, linguistic, and cultural patterns that are known to have affected the African continent.

Tribal initiation for boys with use of masks, netting costumes, seclusion, circumcision, harsh treatment, change of name, and re-introduction into society. 174

The poison ordeal of general Negro type.

Religious ideas of a supreme being, Suku, Nzambi, or Kalunga, who is thought of as a creator. He is, however, far removed from all tribal affairs, and there is no sacrifice or appeal to him.

An active ancestor worship with good and bad spirits who require sacrifice and recognition by supplication through the agency of a medicine-man. Use of wooden figures in connection with this appeal to spirits. Great importance of the spirits of kings as arbiters in matters of tribal welfare.

Importance of medicine-men in conducting trial by ordeal, making rain, healing the sick, and consulting ancestral spirits by divination and the use of wooden images in which "medicine" is placed.

Methods of fishing with poisons and conical fish traps.

The technique and ritual of the blacksmith's craft.

Wood-carving which particularly resembles that of the southwest Congo region.

Making of bark cloth.

Types of musical instruments, including the friction drum, the marimba, tubular drums, flat drums, metal-keyed instruments, and many other forms which are typical of Negro culture, particularly that of the southwest Congo.

Weaving on a loom of central African type (now obsolete).

Coiled basketry and pottery.

The foregoing elements are associated to form the cultural pattern of the Ovimbundu. All these traits are characteristic of Bantu and Sudanic Negro culture in general. Therefore the Ovimbundu are most closely allied with Negroes, from the cultural point of view.

The elements taken by the Ovimbundu from pastoral tribes, 174
whose culture has invaded east and south Africa, are: 177

Cattle and the social values attached to these, together with ceremonial rites which are characteristic of pastoral cultures. Such rites include burial of kings in oxhide, and the killing of oxen at the funeral feast; also the mounting of horns over the grave, and use of sacred fire.

Ideas of succession in the male line, whereby kingship passes to the eldest son of the principal wife, are more characteristic of pastoral than Negro systems.

174 From the pastoral tribes of southern Angola the Ovimbundu have adopted a peculiar type of assagai, a throwing club, and sandals.

●177 Primarily the culture of the Ovimbundu is that of African Negroes with persistence of traits that have survived, possibly from a pre-Negro culture, which depended entirely upon food-gathering and hunting. Grafted on these traits are important elements from a pastoral culture which is generally conceded to be Hamitic.

European contacts led to the introduction of maize, manioc, sweet potatoes, and peanuts, so stimulating the indigenous hoe culture. This agricultural life was further encouraged by settlement in the Benguela Highlands, where temperature, rainfall, and open spaces favored a great expansion of agricultural pursuits, especially the growth of maize and beans.

Early contact with the Portuguese led to an encouragement of trade. Guns and powder, together with other European goods, were received in exchange for ivory and slaves. An increase in the supply of slaves led to changes in the social life, whereby the Ovimbundu gained more time and opportunity for extensive raiding and trading, by which means their wealth was further increased.

As time progressed, the nature of the contact with the Portuguese changed. Instead of alliances made on a commercial basis, the Portuguese gradually assumed control, the results of which are now distinctly felt in the disintegration of Umbundu tribal life.

The data supplied by personal field work, supported by a perusal of ethnological literature, suggest the foregoing summary as the briefest possible outline of the history of the Ovimbundu, the growth of their culture, and the nature of traits that have been welded together.

Cultural losses will now be considered, and in the final pages an explanation will be given of the way in which traits derived from various sources are associated to form a workable tribal system.

CULTURAL LOSSES

177 The loom and the conical furnace for smelting iron have disappeared in recent times because of the increasing importation of foreign cloth and the greater facility for obtaining scrap iron. Bark cloth, except in eastern Angola, is no longer made because traders are distributing European goods. For the same reason wooden hair-combs are going out of use. Drum signaling has declined with the disappearance of warfare, and for the same reason the double iron gong is rare.

The Ovimbundu have lost any ideas that they may have had concerning sentimental relationships between men and animals. I know of no belief in animal helpers, and of no divisions of people with an animal or a plant as their emblem. The only idea of reincarnation was expressed in the instance of a spirit, neglected in sacrifice, prowling near the village in the form of a lion or a leopard.

There has been a total absence of the shield for so long that no one was able to describe it. Old men state that the Ovimbundu used to have a shield; probably this information is correct, as the shield is commonly used in the Congo region. The Ovimbundu use the bow, spear, and throwing-club; no doubt a fourth item of equipment was more than a man could conveniently manage. Furthermore, individuals who obtained guns and powder would naturally discard other weapons.

Originally the Ovimbundu were cannibals. The Vasele, a sequestered Umbundu-speaking people, were definitely known to be practising cannibalism in 1865 (Monteiro, vol. II, p. 157). The early writers, Battell, Merolla, and Cavazzi, mention cannibalism in northern Angola; undoubtedly slaves were killed and eaten at the accession of a king until late in the nineteenth century. From Bailundu a spear formerly used for thrusting into the side of a slave, then into the side of an ox, was obtained. The flesh was cooked and eaten before a warlike expedition. Among objects from the Esele country is an ax formerly used for beheading slaves at the accession of a new king. These objects, collected in 1929, and described on page 277, are survivals of defunct traits.

Kingship, warfare, slavery, and cannibalism constitute an allied group of factors which are here mentioned in the order of their importance. European contacts have discouraged all these traits. Portuguese authority has gradually usurped the jurisdiction of native kings, and at the same time has discouraged intertribal warfare. With the decline of warfare the capture of slaves became obsolete. In addition to the discouragement of cannibalism by direct legislation, the decline of slavery has tended to make cannibalism fall into desuetude, because slaves were always the victims for ceremonial cannibal feasts.

The present attenuated distribution and form of puberty rites for Ovimbundu boys may be accounted for as follows: During the period of desultory warfare in northern Angola (1600–1800), ceremonies, which in Africa are usually associated with sedentary life, must have suffered interruption and curtailment. Such ceremonies

177 are typically allied, so far as Africa is concerned, with a forest culture with its sacred groves and facilities for seclusion during a period of three months or longer. Such a condition was lacking in the Benguela Highlands, which are sparsely wooded in comparison with the more northern tropical areas of Angola.

When the Ovimbundu settled in the highlands, warfare and distant caravan trade were factors that would tend further to disintegrate elaborate ceremonies requiring several months for their completion. As a supplement to these reasons for decline, there is the effect of European disapproval, and in some localities positive prohibition.

In addition to traits that have blended and those that have become obsolete, there arises the question of opportunities which have been neglected in the course of cultural growth.

The Ovimbundu, with local exceptions, do not use the milk or flesh of cattle, neither is the milk of goats utilized; vegetable food forms a large proportion of the diet.

The papaya (papaw) and the banana are not cultivated to any great extent by the natives. The raffia palm grows well in some parts of the Benguela Highlands, but the Ovimbundu do not use the fiber for anything except ropes. They have no raffia weaving such as is found in the Congo region.

Failure to utilize these vegetable products has to some extent a rational basis. The fruit of the papaya could never be more than an addition to the already generous vegetable diet, as it is unsuitable for consumption in large quantities owing to laxative properties; neither has it the food value and the marketable possibility of maize. The banana will grow at a height of 3,000 feet in the Benguela Highlands, but attention is required. Nights are cold, hence some naturally screened site should be selected. During the dry season the roots should be protected against too rapid evaporation, but this careful attention is foreign to native methods of agriculture. Use of raffia is discouraged by the presence of trade cloth and easy access to locally grown cotton, which is made into thread.

To account for the failure to use the milk and flesh of cattle is not easy, neither is the neglect of goat's milk readily explicable. Neglect of these foods is due to prejudice and conservatism, of which there are many examples in Africa. For instance, Hamitic tribes, of whom the Bahima are typical, avoid all vegetable food. Milk is their staple diet, and vegetable foods are regarded as positively unclean.

Cattle-keepers of southern Angola make butter in calabash churns which are gently swung on a pole. The Ovimbundu have taken cattle from the south and west, but have not adopted dairy products. The cattle of the Ovimbundu are valued as a standard of wealth; have great purchasing power; are used to pay taxes and fines; and, in addition to these social and economic values, are the most important sacrificial animals. This is an instance of the arbitrary selection of some traits of a culture complex, while other factors, even those of economic importance, are ignored. 177

Cultural losses, and failures to utilize factors which were accessible are, according to the foregoing examples, due to change of habitat from northern Angola to the Benguela Highlands; European contacts; long-established agricultural habit; and conservatism, which to some extent is a characteristic of tribes at all cultural levels.

INTEGRATION OF TRAITS

A study which is concerned with growth of culture, demands more than a historical, geographical, and mechanistic interpretation. Morphological and historical research assists in tracing origins and in forming hypotheses respecting the order in which the traits were brought together. But such inquiries are static rather than dynamic, and they are a necessary prelude to anthropological work rather than an ultimate aim. 121

To the methods of research already followed there should be added a psychological approach with the object of showing the way in which various elements of culture are blended and are made to function.

The following pages illustrate the way in which a field investigation is brought into contact with the welding of cultural elements, and the examples chosen call attention to principles that are responsible for the process of integration. This assimilation of cultural elements renders the study of an isolated trait impossible, as the following instances indicate. These illustrations are chosen from field notes, and are grouped in such a way as to emphasize the pivotal elements of Umbundu culture around which minor traits revolve.

Some of the examples given are intended to illustrate a relationship between language (which includes folklore, proverbs, and riddles) and nature knowledge. The latter is closely connected with hunting, food-gathering, and the selection of materials for handwork. 105 182

The part played by Portuguese influence in the formation of the culture of the Ovimbundu has previously been recognized, and in conclusion reference should be made to Portuguese and Ovimbundu relationships at the present day. 177

Native trade and military organization were at one time aided by caravan journeys resulting in the acquisition of slaves and ivory, which were traded for guns and powder. But this caravan trade touching remote parts of central and east Africa is now obsolete. Therefore a breaking down of the economic structure has occurred, but this has to some extent been counteracted by the development of agriculture, which yields large crops of maize and beans.

In the administration of law a new social consciousness has arisen. Portuguese government is of a somewhat direct kind, yet village chiefs and kings have some juridical rights. Appeal to a chief or a king was the old method of securing justice, and at present such appeal may be made by an aggrieved Ocimbundu; but should the appellant be dissatisfied he turns to the Portuguese court.

Portuguese policy aims at making the Ovimbundu a social reflection of the Portuguese themselves. European clothing and manufactures are favored, and Portuguese speech is encouraged, to the detriment of the native Umbundu.

Initiation ceremonies are forbidden, but the bush is wide and protective. To prevent these ceremonies is to take the core from the social system, which has already been weakened by recruiting of labor, so leading to disturbance of family life and village organization. Christian missions have an influence on dress, beliefs, and habits, but these effects appear to be local.

Although this report has been chiefly geographical, ethnological, historical, and analytical, no apology for the method chosen is necessary since this kind of approach is fundamental. I might, in compliance with a modern trend, have made the monograph center in persons, especially Ngonga. By making a close psychological study of his early years, his native environment, and changes in mental attitude arising from contact with Portuguese rule and American missions, an illuminating record of the result of conflicting social forces could be given. 121

In a sense, Ngonga, who speaks English, Portuguese, and Umbundu fluently, has been the focus of study, and care has been taken to recognize his personality in this report. I realize that in Angola work of an intensive psychological and sociological kind remains to be done by means of a penetrating analysis of many [115]

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[P.394]

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METHODS OF TRANSPORTATION, ELENDE

OCCUPATIONAL RITUAL, BELIEF, AND CUSTOM AMONG THE OVIMBUNDU

By WILFRID DYSON HAMBLY

[114] 121 WHEN leader of the Frederick H. Rawson-Field Museum Expedition of 1929–30 one of my chief objects was the assembling of a representative collection of the arts and handicrafts of Angola, and particularly of the Ovimbundu who occupy the Benguela highlands.

[177] The Ovimbundu have been in contact with Europeans for three centuries at least, therefore I was interested to know to what extent daily avocations had become secularized. That a close connection has existed between the sacred and the profane in Negro tribes is well known, and the influence of spiritual beliefs and magical acts in every department of economic life, including agriculture, hunting, fishing, and handicrafts, has been established. But how durable is this dependence of economic life on magical acts and ancestral benediction? How soon does primitive economic life become commercialized on a European pattern?

Other observations of academic interest and practical value relate to division of labor between the sexes, specialization by age and natural aptitude; also the possibility of some callings being of an hereditary nature.

[101] My observations, which were made chiefly in the regions of Bailundu, Elende near Cuma, and Ngalangi, are conveniently classified under the headings of food supply, handicrafts, medicine-men, and education.

FOOD SUPPLY

824 825 At the foundation of economic life is nature lore, which among the male population of the Ovimbundu is so detailed and extensive that the knowledge has given rise to a large vocabulary. The highly specialized acquaintance with trees, plants, birds, mammals, and reptiles on the part of most of the men was a surprise to me. Such information was commonly shared by males, and was in no way peculiar to the professional hunter.

I was easily able to collect a list of fifty birds which are readily distinguished by boys (who shoot them with blunt wooden arrows), and all men seemed familiar with forty species of trees, whose timbers, barks, and fruits were distinguished and named. Boys were exceptionally well acquainted with small mammals; including several kinds of rats and mice, which are trapped, boiled, and eaten. For Field Museum I made a collection of snakes and lizards; a task which again showed the native power of observation and adequacy of vocabulary. Some reptiles, whose re-

professional hunters, and the smearing of the novice's bow and arrows with 224
blood from the meat is an important point of ritual. The bow and arrows are made by the master for his pupil; a practice strictly analogous to the [326]
making of tools for a young blacksmith by the master who has trained him.

In connection with the life and death of a hunter a certain amount of 177
ritual survives, and this despite long European contacts, game laws, and 224
the development of an economic system based primarily on extensive cultivation of maize and beans. But though these circumstances might tend to [241]
discourage hunting and its attendant ritual, other facts have contributed to survival. An embargo on guns and powder has led to prolonged use of bows and arrows, with which all hunters are expert, though some, despite official prohibition, have muzzle loading guns. Bows are in general use, and their continuance has no doubt aided survival of ritual, since the rites themselves are closely associated with the bows.

The night before a professional hunter sets out is an occasion for re- 224
newal of implements of the chase, that is, renewal in a spiritual sense, by a ceremony designed to transfer power in a magical way from the disused weapons of deceased hunters to the weapons in use. Weapons of dead hunters are kept in a small hut to which a hunter repairs on the eve of departure. He rubs the old weapons (bows, clubs, and spears) with palm-oil; then pours over them a libation of beer. No medicine-man is present, so for the occasion a hunter functions as his own priest.

It is hazardous and perhaps unprofitable to attempt an analysis of the philosophy behind these ritual acts. Yet the weapons are symbols of the personality and prowess of dead hunters whose names they have received. Therefore the suggestion that the hunter is acquiring power from the dead is reasonable, and the idea harmonizes with all that is known of ancestor worship among Bantu tribes.

The food and cooking pots of a hunter must never be associated with those of ordinary household use. If a hunter is following the tracks of an animal he may not point with his finger, since this action will drive the animal away. He may, however, point with the feathered end of an arrow. A dog must have his ears clipped in a peculiar way or he will not hear and obey. A hunter may not sleep with his wife the night before setting out in quest of game. Before leaving home a hunter washes his eyes with a concoction of herbs to give greater acuity of vision.

In any village the hut of a professional hunter can be readily distin- 224
guished by a number of poles erected near the entrance. On these supports 764
are placed the skulls of animals killed in the chase. A traveler cannot fail
to notice the tombs of hunters, which consist of cairns
of stones enclosing a

At Caconda I obtained the basket of a medicine-man which contained 759
a human tibia, a hoe for digging in graves, and a round stone for pounding 791
the bone before mixing it with fat and charcoal. Medicine-men still make
potions for internal use, and these are usually carried in small horns suspended
round the neck, or the paste may be contained in the carapace of
a tortoise. In every way the medicine-man is still functioning, and his
tasks are fundamental to the social and religious life of the Ovimbundu.

At an early age children specialize in their play which has a bearing 868
on the business of life. Boys make wooden-tipped arrows, play at hunting,
and shoot at tubers which are rolled along the ground. Girls take clay from
the potters to fabricate their own small cooking pots, and young girls attempt
the coiling of basketry.

Men are the musicians, and among these a high degree of specialization 533
is observed. In a large village there are likely to be only a few competent
drummers, and only a few men who play the small iron-keyed instrument
called ocisanji. Osaka is a ritual game played only by men, and only when
a village headman or a king is dying. The ball (ombunje) is made by sewing 535
lizard skin over a hard spherical fruit about six centimeters in diameter. A 524
man continues to dance with this little ball clenched in his outstretched 755
hand, while another dancer hits the muscles of his arm to make him release
the ball. This game is thought to give strength to the sick man. There is
a transfer of the endurance of the dancers to the invalid.

Preliminary observation in some villages occupied by Ovimbundu is 177
disappointing in its suggestion of Europeanization. The foreign culture is,
however, a thin veneer, and further research shows a strong persistence of
indigenous custom and belief quite near to centers of Portuguese influence.

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

CHAPTER I

THE OLD SOCIETY

1. *History*

The Ovimbundu, who live on the Benguela Highland[1] of central Angola, have been in contact with Europeans since their emergence as a people in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries. Dr. Childs has provided an excellent account of their history,[2] based on the collection of traditional narratives and a study of the published sources in English, German, and Portuguese. 175 [13] [177]

The Ovimbundu arose from a fusion of two stocks, one that of the 'Jagas', a conquering race who invaded the Benguela Highland in the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries, and the indigenous occupants of the area who were culturally and linguistically related to the peoples who now live in south-west Angola.[3] The Jagas were described in some detail by the English sailor Andrew Battell[4] who was their prisoner for some time at the beginning of the seventeenth century. He tells us that they were warlike cannibals who recruited their numbers by taking adolescents from the peoples they conquered.[5] This society did not reproduce itself normally by descent since all children born were put to death.[6] He locates them geographically in the Amboim–Cela–Quibala area[7] to the north of the present Umbundu territory. Cavazzi writing in the later seventeenth

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[1] In Portuguese, Planalto de Benguela.

[2] Childs, pp. 164–215.

[3] Ibid. p. 190.

[4] Ravenstein (Ed.). *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell.* Hakluyt Society, London 1901.

[5] Ravenstein, p. 33.

[6] Ibid. p. 32.

[7] Ibid. pp. 84, 85; Childs, p. 86.

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173 The Hungarian explorer L. Magyar collected in the

middle of the nineteenth century, in the eastern Umbundu kingdom of Bie, an historical legend which linked Bie origins to the kingdom of Mwata Yamvo.[18] Childs has suggested[19] that this legend was in fact not of Umbundu origin since later investigators from Serpa Pinto[20] (1878) to Childs himself (1938) have found that Bie traditions emphasized the local origins of the dynasty. This may of course be a case of the African tendency to manipulate historical narratives to accord with social relationships. It may be suggested that the Lunda traditions, which the core of the Jaga hordes carried with them, became diluted by the recruitment from the conquered peoples, and that the link between the Umbundu royal houses and the Northern Lunda were forgotten because the kings of the Ovimbundu felt no need, unlike the weak Luena and Ndembu chiefs,[21] to prop up their position by stressing their links with the mighty Mwata Yamvo.

175 177 By the end of the eighteenth century the Umbundu kingdoms that were to survive until the end of Umbundu independence were already well established.[22] In 1769 the first Portuguese fort in the Benguela Highland, that at Caconda, was established, and a few years later a king of Bie was to owe his throne to Portuguese intervention.[23] Trade in slaves had begun with the 175 177 439 Jagas; but other items such as beeswax and ivory were bought by the bare-footed Kimbundu traders who came from the Portuguese settlements on the Cuanza (founded between 1582 and 1671); and by 1782 there existed small colonies of Portuguese traders in Bie and Caconda.[24]

Portuguese political influence was weak, and the kings continued to engage in warfare. However, trade became increasingly 175 important as the Ovimbundu realized the advantage of 177 their position in between the coastal towns of Benguela and 439 Catumbela, and the tribes of the interior. By the middle of the nineteenth century Ovimbundu were travelling throughout the area bounded by the Congo River, the Great Lakes and the Kalahari, and even transcontinental journeys were made. The Ovimbundu carried with them cloths, guns, and rum which they exchanged for ivory, slaves, and wax, to which must be added corn and palm-oil, these latter, however, obtained not from the far interior but from inside or near Umbundu land. The safety of the Umbundu caravans was preserved by the negotiation of treaties with the local rulers, and by agreements (not always satisfactorily kept) between the different Umbundu kingdoms.[25]

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[18] L. Magyar, *Reisen in Sud-Afrika*, Pest and Leipsig, 1859, pp. 266–269.

[19] Childs, p. 173.

[20] A. Serpa Pinto, *How I Crossed Africa*, London, 1881. Vol. I, pp. 156–60.

[21] For Luena and Ndembu chiefs, see C. M. N. White, 'Clan, chieftainship, and slavery in Luvale political organization' (*Africa*, January 1957), and V. W. Turner, *Schism and Continuity in an African Society*, Manchester, 1957. For African attitudes to the recording of the past see J. A. Barnes, 'History in a Changing Society'. *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal* 1951, No. 11, Ian Cunnison, *History on the Luapula*, Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 21, and L. Bohannan, 'A Genealogical Charter', *Africa*, October 1952. Mr. White informs me that the Luena regard the Bie kingdom as being of Northern Lunda origin.

[22] Childs, pp. 167–8.

[23] Ibid., pp. 174, 195.

[24] Ibid., p. 198.

From about 1874 rubber became important in Umbundu trade, and it is in the period from then until 1911,[26] when the caravan trade collapsed, that the Ovimbundu knew a prosperity which they have hardly recovered today.[27] It is in this period 175 too that there occurred both the loss of Umbundu independence 648 and the establishment of the missions. In 1890 Ndunduma, the king of Bie, was defeated and deposed, and in 1896 Numa, the king of Bailundo attacked, disastrously, the fort which his predecessors had allowed to be established near the capital. In 1902–3 a widespread revolt, known as the Bailundo war, broke out against the Portuguese, the traders being killed, and the forts besieged. The reasons for this revolt, whose leader Mutu-ya-Kevela was a minister of the Bailundo court, seem to have been injustices on the part of the white population, and possibly a fall in rubber prices. After 1903 the remaining parts of Umbundu country were brought under effective European rule,

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[25] Magyar, pp. 292–9; Childs, pp. 203–5.

[26] Childs following A. Bastos, *Monografia de Catumbella* (*Bol. Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 1910, pp. 74–81, 105–9, 141–5, 180–5, 225–8, 251–5, 279–85) divides the rubber trade into three periods: the rise of the trade 1874–86, the boom 1886–1900, and the decline 1900–11.

[27] I have heard it said by old men who had taken part in the caravan journeys, and by a local mulatto trader that the Ovimbundu of that period had more clothes than they have now. For Angolan economics after 1911 see Henrique Galvão and Carlos Selvagem, *Império Ultramarino Português*, Vol. III, pp. 124–38, Lisbon, 1952, and Clement Egerton, *Angola in Perspective*, London, 1957, pp. 106–13.

175 and the European population greatly increased.[28] In some areas 648 at this time a confused situation arose, in which 'robber barons', white and black, tyrannized over chiefs and villagers [567] and engaged in the still vigorous slave trade, which now had acquired a few disguises on the coast.[29]

In 1911 the rubber trade ended, and about the same time slavery and the slave trade were effectively suppressed.[30] From this time onwards, too, civil administration began to be effective [496] and the Benguela Railway became the most important link between the coast and the interior.[31] The trade disappeared, powers of the chiefs declined. The missions, both Catholic and [292] Protestant, which had relatively little influence during the rubber trade period, gained more and more converts.[32]

101 2. *Ethnography*

Between the Ovimbundu and the sea lie the Hanya, the Nganda, and the Tjisanji tribes of whom little is known except that the Hanya and Nganda seem to be culturally related to the Ovimbundu.[33] To the south are the Nyaneka-Humbi group, cattle-keeping peoples who are culturally and linguistically related to the Ovimbundu, but who did not participate in the [177] trade.[34] To the east lie the Ngangela[35], the Luimbi, and the

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[28] Childs, pp. 210–11.

[29] For an account of Umbundu country at this time see H. W. Nevison, *A Modern Slavery*, New York, 1906. In Gumba I was told that Mutu-ya-Kevela the leader of the 1902–3 revolt had raided villages for slaves but that Samakaka whom Childs (p. 22) describes as a robber baron was spoken of favourably.

[30] Slavery had been legally suppressed from 1878. The slaves were called by other names but no effective change was made till 1910. See A. Bastos, *Monografia de Catumbella* in *Bol. Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 1910 (pp. 74–81, 105–9, 141–55, 180–5, 225–8, 251–5, 279–5).

[31] Childs, p. 228.

[32] Ibid., pp. 220–23. Personal information.

[33] Ibid., p. 8.

[34] On these peoples see Estermann, *Etnografia do Sudoeste de Angola*, Vol. II.

[35] A tribe using this word as the root of the tribal name is to be found to the south-east of Umbundu country in the area round Vila Artur de Paiva. Padre A. Van Horrik, formerly of the Missão Católica de Cubango, tells me that the map contained in M. McCulloch, *The Southern Lunda and Related Peoples*, (London, 1951) should show the Ngangela as occupying much of the area actually assigned to the Mbwela and the south-eastern Ovimbundu. Mbwela does not seem to be the name any tribe uses for itself (Private information, Estermann and Van Horrik).

Chokwe.[36] These people are culturally and linguistically different from the Ovimbundu, whom, however, they have influenced, especially in the fields of ritual; the initiation rituals typical of these people have spread into southern and eastern Umbundu territory.[37] The Ngangela call the Ovimbundu 'Ovimbali', a name used in Angola for Africans who live with or imitate whites.[38] I have heard an Otjimbundu use it for the Kimbundu of northern Angola. The south-western peoples call the Ovimbundu 'Va-Nano—they of the north',[39] but also regard the Ovimbundu as being 'civilized'. Very little is known about the peoples to the north of the Ovimbundu, who are also different in language and culture and who are said to have more rituals than the Ovimbundu. These are known collectively by the Ovimbundu as Olongoya, a term with a rather offensive meaning. Historically they are important for the Ovimbundu since it was here that Andrew Battell knew the Jaga hordes, and Umbundu tradition links a number of the chiefly lines to these northern peoples. The Umbundu language seems to be gaining ground in this area.[40] /101/ [172]

All the neighbouring peoples seem to be matrilineal, as regards descent, inheritance, and succession, with the exception of the Hanya and the Nganda, who have (Dr. Childs suggests) a double-descent kinship system, as traditionally the Ovimbundu had. All seem, as far as is known, to have had chiefs,[41] though there were no kingdoms to equal the power of Bie and Bailundo in the nineteenth century. Culturally the Ovimbundu seem to have been ready to take over traits from neighbouring tribes, and the Portuguese, and this particularly in the sphere of ritual.[42] /171/ /177

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[36] For the Luimbi, see C. W. Scott. 'A Note on the Luimbi of Central Angola', *Africa*, October 1955. For the Chokwe see M. McCulloch, op. cit.

[37] Childs, pp. 115–16.

[38] A trader said that Otjimbali means a domesticated black. Estermann is preparing a study of a Mbali group of southern Angola descended from Kimbundu slaves.

[39] The Nyaneka-Humbi tribes use it for the southern Ovimbundu, the southern Ovimbundu use it for the northern Ovimbundu.

[40] Childs, pp. 186–7; Baumann, op. cit.

[41] Baumann, op. cit. For the installation of chiefs in the Ambcim area, see Antonio de Silva Maia, 'Ritos e Ceremonias para a Entronização' in *Mensário Administrativo*, July-August 1953.

[42] Childs, p. 220.

[1874-1911]

178 The great distinguishing mark of the Ovimbundu was their
participation in the caravan trade. Some of the neighbouring
people also engaged in trading journeys (e.g. the Chokwe) but
in central Angola the dominant traders were the Ovimbundu
by reason of their control of the routes to Benguela and Catumbela,
a control which as Livingstone's narrative shows they tried
for a while to turn into a monopoly.[43] With this must be linked
177 the greater readiness of the Ovimbundu to adopt European
ways, marked by the general adoption of cloths for wear by at
latest the mid-nineteenth century.[44]

3. *Economics and Social Structure*

101 This section will describe the economic life and social structure
which marked the period of the rubber trade (1874–1911).
436 A genuine currency existed in the form of cloth, and fortunes
439 could be made in it. Serpa Pinto tells us of one Otjimbundu
who made £3,500 by trading in the interior and that he had
met many men who 'turned over capital of a thousand to
twelve hundred pounds sterling',[45] presumably in trade goods
since Portuguese currency did not circulate among the Ovim-
361 bundu. At the capitals of the kingdoms genuine towns grew up.
Magyar in the middle of the nineteenth century estimated that
[162] 5,000 people lived at Bailundo[46] and the British explorer
Cameron who had crossed Africa from Zanzibar says of
Ekovongo, the capital of Bie, 'the town of Kagnombe, the
largest I came across during my whole journey, being more than
three miles in circumference. On arrival I was met by the
644 Kagnombe's secretary, chamberlain, and captain of the guard
who wore red waistcoats as a sign of their dignity. The secretary
was more ornamental than useful, being unable to write, but a
subordinate, a black man and native of Dondo, was better
educated and conducted the trade of Kagnombe with the
coast'.[47]

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[43] Ibid., p. 205.

[44] Ibid., p. 206, referring to Magyar as evidence.

[45] Serpa Pinto, pp. 161–2.

[46] Magyar, p. 391.

[47] V. L. Cameron, *Across Africa*, London, 1877. Vol. II, pp. 206–7.

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kingdoms of the Ovimbundu, though more frequently perhaps 631
it was made against the non-Umbundu peoples.[89] 721

The question of the influence of the trade provides interesting 171
opportunities for comparison. The Ovimbundu were the 178
southernmost of the peoples who in the nineteenth century 439
participated in the trade between the Europeans of the West African coast and the peoples of the interior.[90] In some ways the Ovimbundu seem to have been less influenced by it than were some of the peoples further north. The Ovimbundu did not develop genuine patterns of urban life as in Dahomey or Benin.[91]

Three explanations can be offered for the relative failure of 178
associational groups and urban society to develop. Umbundu 182
crafts were much inferior to those found along the coast of the 439
Gulf of Guinea; there was no indigenous weaving industry, for [286]
instance, and the goods which the caravans carried to the interior were all of European or American origin, cloths, guns, and rum.[92] For these goods the Ovimbundu were dependent on the Portuguese settled at the coast or in the Highland and this meant that the Ovimbundu were far from economic autonomy. Again the trade had a relatively short time span—the real boom period lasted only from 1886 to 1900, and earlier on in the 1840's when the beeswax, ivory, and slave trade was flourishing, the Ovimbundu had plenty of time for warfare.

It would, however, be a grave mistake to think that trade 177
had only a marginal influence on Umbundu society. It has been 182
suggested that the form of the double-descent system owes its origin to the necessity to isolate economic relations from other social fields. In the sphere of ritual, there are some remarkable copies of European practices—for instance the holding of a [769]
feast in honour of the ancestors at Christmas-time.[93] Many ritual concepts are related to the explanation of business

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[89] For information on Umbundu warfare see Magyar, pp. 277–80 and Serpa Pinto, pp. 177–9.

[90] See Balandier, *Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire*, Paris, 1955, for a discussion of social change in other areas which had experienced a trade of a similar sort.

[91] For Dahomey see M. J. Herskovits, *Dahomey*, New York, 1938. For Benin see R. Bradbury, *The Benin Kingdom* (Ethnographic Survey of Africa), London, 1957.

[92] Childs, p. 206.

[93] Informants.

[1874-1911]

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success. More generally, it may be suggested that the conditions of the trade in which wealth was dependent on contact with Europeans created not only the Umbundu esteem for 'shrewd behaviour' (*oku lunguka*) and their willingness for social change, but their marked docility and submissiveness towards Europeans.[34]

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[34] See O. Mannoni, *Prospero and Caliban*, London, 1956, for an ingenious discussion of a similar set of attitudes.

meet other Angolan Protestants through such occasions as the Congress of Evangelical Youth, held at Malange in 1955. M 797

While the Catholic missions are not tied to the Ovimbundu in the same way as the Protestants the number of their adherents falls sharply when the Umbundu boundary is reached. Responsiveness to missionary activity is a mark of the Ovimbundu today just as was participation in the caravan trade. Indeed, the main common possession of the Ovimbundu, the Umbundu language, is, as a literary vehicle and object of study, almost a missionary monopoly. Both missions produce a monthly magazine in Umbundu and Portuguese, and several books of a religious or educational nature have been published with Umbundu on one side and Portuguese on the other as legally required. The dictionaries and grammars are almost all of missionary authorship. M [781] [184]

Acceptance of Christianity has also significance for Umbundu self-consciousness. The majority of Ovimbundu have come under missionary influence in varying degrees, and conversion to Christianity makes Ovimbundu feel closer to Europeans and superior to other African peoples. I have heard African priests claim that the Ovimbundu are the best people in Angola, largely on this ground, and at Lobito and Luanda tensions have been felt in the Protestant community between Ovimbundu and members of other tribes.[11] M [186]

The Ovimbundu live under economic, political, and religious systems introduced and controlled by Europeans. Yet trader, official, and missionary are all dependent on the Ovimbundu. The 'civilized' and the native live in symbiosis, and the two basic problems of this study are the nature of this symbiosis, and its relation to the social system of the native population themselves. To see this symbiosis in perspective it is necessary to describe what occupations and statuses Africans can hold. M 177 648 M 121

The strict segregation of black and white found in South Africa is alien to Portuguese traditions. There is a lack of almost all forms of public segregation between white and non-white.[12] A 563

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[11] Personal information.

[12] In the racial discrimination that does exist the mulattoes generally count as whites. It is said to be difficult for a full African to obtain accommodation in a Luanda hotel, but the situation for mulattoes is quite different.

167 Many of the people in Gumba had come from

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Cela, and Cela influences are notable in several ways.[24] In Cassongue Umbundu has relatively recently ousted other
133 speech.[25] Geographically Bimbe generally is rather lower than most of the Highland. Although the railway line and the growth
167 of maize have been influential here, an alternative pull for
361 labour migration is provided by the coffee plantation of Amboim and Seles, and by the coastal towns of Novo Redondo and Porto Amboim.[26] In the days of the caravan trade Novo Redondo was an important trading centre, more important perhaps than Benguela for the people of this area.

464 [162] Work is sought by Ovimbundu in lands far from their home. There are Ovimbundu at Brazzaville; others have settled permanently in the Congo Republic, or work in Rhodesia; the Johannesburg mines have employed many, and some have gone as far as Natal.[27] In Epalanga, the village where I lived, there were two men who had been to Johannesburg—nor was this very exceptional and I am told that among the people south of the railway it is quite common.

82 The world picture of the Ovimbundu is vague, except as regards Angola and the neighbouring countries. The existence of Europe (Putu) composed of different nations Portuguese, French, and English is known, and I was several times asked if there were black people in England. Little or nothing is known of the other continents. The island of S. Tomé in the Atlantic is known, since up to recently Angolan labourers went there, and some convicts are still sent to it. Several people from the neighbourhood had lived in Luanda or worked on coffee
[484] plantations in northern Angola. The Belgian Congo was known as Bula Matadi, though people seem little aware of Rhodesia, and Mozambique (Portuguese East Africa) is confused with the southern Angolan port of Moçamedes. The railway lines and
[444] the cities along it are of course well known, and some of the people I knew had travelled to Kwanyama country in the far south of Angola to buy cattle. Johannesburg (Zhwaini) and its

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[24] Notably in the arm ornaments and hair styles favoured by some women. Cela diviners are often consulted.

[25] Childs (p. 179) suggests that the change came about in the nineteenth century.

[26] For this area of Angola see Egerton, pp. 186–8. Galvão and Selvagem, pp. 376–80, 437–8.

[27] Personal information. Also Childs, p. 213.

565 Their higher social status limits their contacts with the villagers
without giving them positions of direct control. Hence they are
not leaders in the native social system. They are significant for
565 the culture of village Ovimbundu since they are one of the
● 177 channels for the communication of European culture traits, and
their very existence indicates the possibility of becoming 'equal
with the white man"[31]

797 More significant than the *assimilados* as a means of linking the
177 Ovimbundu with the whites, of the transmitting of cultural
values, and of the creation of new statuses and groupings at
village level, are the missions.

128 In the following chapters, the composition and degree of
solidarity of the sub-chiefdom, and village, the network of
kinship ties, the choice of marriage partners, and the means of
social control will be discussed in their operation among the
Ovimbundu who are inescapably tied to Portuguese rule, to
world markets, and to the spiritual authority of the missions.

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[31] I have the impression that in the cities there is some feeling that the status of *assimilado* does not give real equality but simply exemption from such burdens as road work.

CHAPTER III

CHIEFS AND HEADMEN IN GUMBA

1. *The History of Gumba*

The historical perspective of Ovimbundu is short. Few, even 814 elders, know of any landmark earlier than the Mutu-ya-Kevela rising of 1902–3, nor even for those who had participated in it did the time of the rubber trade form a Golden Age by which the present is judged. The period about which most was remembered was the reign of Mbati.[1]

Mbati had ruled over both Gumba and Chicunda, a union 173 which had existed only during his lifetime, and which would 634 have given him on present-day population figures 7,500–9,000 [761] subjects.[2] He had managed to keep in his own hands the relations between his people and the government post. Policemen arriving at his capital to recruit labourers were entertained while Mbati's ministers got together the men required. Although an upholder of the traditional rites associated with [777] chieftancy he had been on good terms with the missionaries and allowed a Catholic catechist to settle in his village. One of his sons became a Protestant schoolteacher near the railway line, another entered the Catholic seminary but left and became a policeman in Cela. Many of the numerous progeny provided by his seventeen wives are still living in Gumba.

Mbati's downfall came through his practising the traditional [266] annual ritual cannibalism (*oku lia ekongo*). About 1934–5 he [648] was banished for this to another part of Umbundu country.

[text continues on p.37]

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[1] L. Magyar marks a place called Gumba on his map (opposite to page 1) but puts it to the south of the capital of Bailundo. As he does not seem to have personal knowledge of this area, this does not rule out identification, especially as the Cuvo begins to the south of Bailundo.

[2] For the basis of this estimate see section 2 of this chapter.

795 178 confines the pursuit of power to the Native Church with unfortunate results. It might, on the other hand, be suggested that the Protestants among the Ovimbundu are the section of the population who have come nearest to building up new systems of authority and law. It might also be suggested that Umbundu Protestantism retains certain historical features of Congregationalism—democratic selection of officials with strict discipline binding members of the congregation, industriousness and zeal for education, and a certain consciousness of being a spiritual *élite*.[3]

795 Another factor in the situation is that the Protestants are a minority compared with the Catholics and tend to have the heightened self-consciousness of religious minorities. They also tend to isolate themselves from the pagans much more than the Catholics do, both geographically by moving into separate hamlets and separate villages and by the greater efforts they make to understand and follow European custom. Protestants for instance seem to know more how the Portuguese kinship terms should be used.

797 177 Ultimately, the position of the catechist, whether Catholic or Protestant, is dependent on his role as a teacher of Christian doctrine, and as being a representative of 'modern' values. It may be said that Christian doctrine and 'modern' values are not necessary identical. It is, however, in this field that the Ovimbundu establish their closest contacts with the Europeans. A Protestant explaining why a kinship usage had been discontinued said: 'We are Christians, we are like the Europeans.'
795 A Catholic catechist arguing the superiority of Catholicism to Protestantism began by saying that the Protestants had no sacraments—then the elder of the school chimed in saying: 'And ours is the religion of the government.' The catechist took up this theme: 'The *chefe de posto* is baptized and married in church, the Governor-General [*sic*] of Nova Lisboa is baptized and married in church.' During my first weeks in Epalanga I was asked by the catechist: 'Are there priests in England?' and replied that in England there were both Catholics and Protestants, on which the catechist commented: 'It's the same thing in Bimbe.'

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[3] For the history of Congregationalism see E. Troelsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, London, 1931, Vol. II, p. 661–6.

thing in Bimbe.' That is, church membership is recognized as 797
giving entry to a world-wide grouping. This sense of being 177
linked to the Europeans by participation in the same sacraments
is paralleled on the European side by the custom widespread in
Angola of whites standing as godparents to their servants or
servants' children. More generally, the missions are regarded as
being the cause of that social change which is welcomed by
Ovimbundu. Thus the fact that this was 'the time of the
school' was given by one of my servants as the reason for such
improvements as the decline of sorcery and the increase of
cleverness.

Ovimbundu Christians are also aware of the doctrinal 795
significance of baptism—when I asked various people 'Why did
you receive baptism?' a general reply would be: 'I want to go
to heaven', or some equivalent phrase. The apprehension of
Catholic doctrine by the Ovimbundu is a complicated subject.
It may be said that the receiving of the sacraments is the aspect
of religion that has made most impression on the people. In the
conversation previously cited, the catechist began by emphasizing
the presence of sacraments as the distinctive mark of
Catholicism against Protestantism, and then when the elder of
the school pointed to the official associations of Catholicism, the
catechist developed this by indicating the receiving of sacraments
by those in high office. In the same way a catechist may
commend somebody by saying: 'He is baptized and married in
Church', as we would say of somebody: 'He is a real Christian'.
The contact of the people with the priests, whether at the mission, 797
or in the villages, usually involves the making of confessions 177
and the receiving of communion. Cultural traits particularly
characteristic of Portuguese Catholicism are little marked
with the exception of the social importance of the godfather-godson
tie. Christian ideas of the after-life have penetrated
among the pagans, who will say that the soul after death goes to
God (Suku) except in the case of bad people who go to hell.

The social relations between Christians and pagans are 795
friendly. The old rites in which the sub-chiefdom as a whole
participated have disappeared, and the rites performed at the [178]
capital, a liturgy which like other aspects of chieftaincy is a
shadow of its former self, arouse little public interest. Christians

795 and pagans co-operate in weddings and funerals. In certain aspects of funeral rites, and in commemorations of ancestors the Christians participate, justifying themselves by arguing that they are purely social functions and have no religious significance. This differs from their attitude to the major exorcism [255] rites,[4] which are avoided by Christians, who regard them with some horror, and towards consulting diviners. Although visiting diviners is strictly forbidden by both Catholic and Protestant [791] missionaries, a high proportion of their people do this,[5] but clandestinely. Thus I was told that there were no diviners in Gumba; in fact, there were two living in Epalanga. It is important to remember that there exist nowadays no pagan 'congregations', that is, permanent groups associated with the performance of ritual.

797 /177 It is, indeed, through the missions that most of the formal teaching of European culture (apart from the instructions given to labourers and servants) which Ovimbundu receive is given. To the Ovimbundu the missionaries are the Europeans who appear in the most favourable light, and even among pagans the attitude to the missions is without the fear accorded to the post or the suspicion with which the traders are regarded. The missionaries alone run schools, and they provide most of the modern medical services. The missionaries come into far more frequent contact with the people than do the *chefes*, and their relationship with the people is not confined to economics as is that of the traders. The Ovimbundu desire to imitate and learn from Europeans; it is from the missionaries that they have most opportunity of learning, and it is in the African clergy that they have the most clear evidence that this learning from Europeans will bring them results.

797 The organization of the missions is the form of large-scale social structure with which the people are best acquainted, and with which they are most capable of identifying themselves. A

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[4] These involve drumming and an open invitation to anybody who wants to turn up. The idea is to persuade the tormenting spirit to pass into a small animal or inanimate object. The minor exorcism (*oku likutilila*) also involves sending the spirit into an inanimate object, but without drumming or the headshaking by the patient which is believed to mark the arrival of the spirit and his acceptance of the offering.

[5] Childs, loc. cit. Personal information.

KINSHIP

Osanto or *esiala* (namesake) is used as a kinship term, both in 601
address and as reference.

Oluse and *oluina*, which were formerly the words for the 602
agnatic and matrilineal kin group, now mean the patrikin, that is, all to whom one is paternally related, and the matrikin, all to whom one is matrilaterally related. A man, describing a particular tie, may say that it is 'in the matrikin of my father', that is, the relative is a matrilineal kinsman of his father. The terms *onele yohondji* ('the side of the bow') and *onele yohumba* ('the side of the basket') are equivalents of *oluse* and *oluina*.[15] The term *epata* may be used in a general sense for kin but it has very often a primary reference to the matrikin. *Família* (from the [177]
Portuguese) means kin in general but it may mean 'kinsman' with reference to a single individual: 'So-and-so is (or is not) my *Familia*.' *Ngandi* (which also means 'So-and-so,' equivalent to the Portuguese *fulano*) means kinsman and *usitwe* is kinship.

The use of Portuguese terms is now frequent even among 601
those who do not speak Portuguese. The terms most frequently 177
taken into the Umbundu language are *mano* which is used to mean 'elder brother,' and *mana* which is used to mean 'elder sister,' both terms being used by either sex, *primo* (feminine *prima*), cousin, which is used as an equivalent of *epalume* (cross-cousin), *tio* (uncle), which is now used more frequently than *sekulu*, and *cunhado* (feminine *cunhada*) brother-in-law or sister-in-law, used in the same way as is *nawa*. Ovimbundu villagers talking Portuguese will apply the Portuguese terms in Umbundu style. Thus *irmaõ* (brother) will be used as an equivalent of *mandja* (younger sibling of either sex), and *irmaõ mais velho* (older brother) will be used as an equivalent of *huwa* (elder sibling of either sex). Similarly *tia* (aunt) will be used as an equivalent of *apahai*.

The rules about which term may be used in a particular 601
defined relationship (e.g. my wife's mother's brother) are not clearly and exclusively defined. What is more surprising is that a man may not be certain what is the category in which he should class a kinsman with whom he has frequent contacts. Thus Paulo, the elder of the school at Epalanga, often played

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[15] As noted previously in the references to Chapter I these terms do not seem to have referred to descent groups.

601 with Adolfo, the small son of Jaime, his wife's brother, but when asked what relation Adolfo was to him, became confused and said, 'My son, my sister's son.'

601 184 There exist marked variations in terminology in Umbundu country.[16] For instance, *sekulu* seems to be used for mother's brother only in north-western Umbundu country. Elsewhere *manu*[17] is used for mother's brother, and *sekulu* is used for grandfather. At Caconda, where there has been strong Portuguese [172] influence since the eighteenth century, only the Portuguese kinship terms are known.[18]

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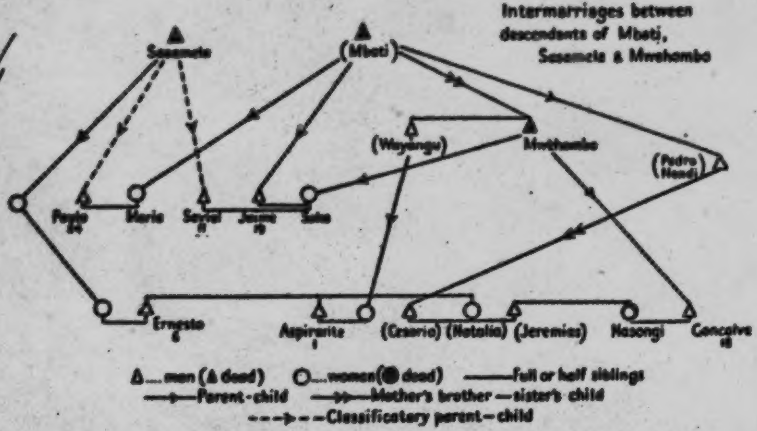
Intermarriages between descendants of Mbati, Sasamela & Mwehombo
Sasamela
(Mbati)
(Wayangu)
Mwehombo
(Pedro Nendi)
Paulo
Maria
Saviel
Jaime
Ernesto 6
Aspirante 1
(Cesario)
(Natalia)
(Jeremias)
Nasongi
Concalve
Δ....men (▲ dead) ○....women (● dead) ——full or half siblings
—→—Parent-child —→→—Mother's brother—sister's child
---→--Classificatory parent—child

CHART 2. Mbati, Mwehombo and some of their kin. For Mbati (dead, non-member) and Mwehombo (dead, former member) see Chapter III, section 1. For Sasamela (dead, former member) and Cesario, Jeremias, Natalia, Pedro Nendi, and Wayangu (all living non-members) see List II (pp. 55–6). The rest of the individuals named on the chart are members of Epalanga. Paulo and Saviel were 'brothers', both patrilaterally and matrilaterally.

3. *Kinship Norms*

593 In this section I shall describe the relations that existed within the elementary family in the time of the rubber trade. A man

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[16] For other lists of kinship terms see Hastings, pp. 83–85. Childs, pp. 47–56. M. Howse, *Umbundu Lessons* (Dondi, 1955), Vol. II, pp. 193–7.

[17] Etymologically, *manu* seems to mean 'mother-person'.

[18] Private information.

[text continues on p. 98]